

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2022 with funding from  
Kahle/Austin Foundation











# THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES











Copyright 1904 by Fack Brothers, N.Y.

A. W. Elson & Co., Boston

Theodore Roosevelt

Edition de Luxe  
Vol.IV

# THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

By F 70

JAMES WILFORD GARNER, Ph.D.  
AND  
HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph.D., L.L.D.

With a Historical Review  
By  
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D.

Illustrated



John D. Morris and Company  
Philadelphia  
MDCCCXVI

COPYRIGHT, 1905, 1906, BY  
JOHN D. MORRIS & COMPANY



# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT AND THE RESULTS OF RECONSTRUCTION. 1869-1877

SECTION	PAGE
I. ELECTION AND INAUGURATION . . . . .	1407
II. "CARPET-BAG" AND NEGRO RULE IN THE SOUTH; THE KU-KLUX-KLAN; THE NEGRO PROBLEM . . . . .	1416
III. FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1867-1873; THE FRENCH IN MEXICO; PURCHASE OF ALASKA; SETTLEMENT OF THE "ALA- BAMA" CLAIMS CONTROVERSY . . . . .	1430

## CHAPTER XXXVII

### GRANT'S SECOND TERM. 1873-1877

I. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1872 . . . . .	1453
II. THE INAUGURATION; FRAUDS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE; FINANCIAL PANIC OF 1873 . . . . .	1460
III. RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS; REFUNDING OF THE NATIONAL DEBT; THE GREENBACK MOVEMENT; LEGAL TENDER DECISIONS . . . . .	1464
IV. INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS; THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION; INDIAN TROUBLES IN THE WEST . . . . .	1469

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

## HAYES AND THE END OF THE SOUTHERN QUESTION. 1877-1881

SECTION	PAGE
I. THE TILDEN-HAYES CONTEST; THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION	1477
II. BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA; THE RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877; ANTI-CHINESE AGITATION; MONETARY LEGISLATION	1489

## CHAPTER XXXIX

## GARFIELD AND ARTHUR. 1881-1885

I. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1880; THE "GRANT MOVEMENT"; TRIUMPH OF GARFIELD . . . . .	1502
II. CONTROVERSY BETWEEN GARFIELD AND CONKLING; ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT . . . . .	1512
III. ACCESSION OF ARTHUR; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; STAR ROUTE FRAUDS; NEW TARIFF LAW; INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS . . . . .	1518

## CHAPTER XL

## GROVER CLEVELAND AND THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION OF 1884

I. CONTEST BETWEEN BLAINE AND CLEVELAND, 1884 . . . . .	1527
II. THE DEMOCRATS IN POWER . . . . .	1537
III. PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION LAW; ELECTORAL COUNT LAW; INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT . . . . .	1545
IV. FOREIGN AFFAIRS; CHINESE EXCLUSION AND NORTHEASTERN FISHERIES; ANARCHIST RIOTS IN CHICAGO . . . . .	1550

## CHAPTER XLI

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON. 1888-1892

I. DEFEAT OF CLEVELAND . . . . .	1558
II. THE MCKINLEY TARIFF LAW; THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST AND SILVER ACTS; THE DEMOCRATIC "LANDSLIDE" OF 1892 . . . . .	1566

# CONTENTS

vii

SECTION

PAGE

III. FOREIGN AFFAIRS; LYNCHING OF ITALIANS; THE SAMOAN DISPUTE; RELATIONS WITH CHILI; SETTLEMENT OF BEHRING SEA DISPUTE . . . . .	1576
IV. THE MORMONS; ADMISSION OF NEW STATES; INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS . . . . .	1584

## CHAPTER XLII

CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM. 1893-1897

I. THE DEFEAT OF HARRISON . . . . .	1593
II. FINANCIAL AND TARIFF LEGISLATION . . . . .	1600
III. HAWAII AND VENEZUELA . . . . .	1605
IV. INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL DEPRESSION . . . . .	1612
V. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; THE NEW NAVY; THE WORLD'S FAIR . . . . .	1618

## CHAPTER XLIII

WILLIAM McKINLEY—THE WAR WITH SPAIN. 1897-1901

I. ELECTION OF 1896 . . . . .	1627
II. THE DINGLEY TARIFF; FINANCIAL LEGISLATION; RELA- TIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	1637
III. THE WAR WITH SPAIN . . . . .	1641
IV. THE INSULAR POSSESSIONS . . . . .	1665

## CHAPTER XLIV

ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT. 1901—

I. ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY . . . . .	1683
II. THE PANAMA CANAL . . . . .	1692
III. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1904 . . . . .	1701

## CHAPTER XLV

	PAGE
PROGRESS OF A CENTURY . . . . .	1728
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
General Histories of the United States . . . . .	1749
General Histories of Particular Periods . . . . .	1751
Histories of Special Periods . . . . .	1757
INDEX . . . . .	1773



# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## VOLUME FOUR

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ( <i>Photogravure</i> )	. . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
		PAGE
NAPOLEON III.	. . . . .	1431
MAXIMILIAN OF MEXICO	. . . . .	1432
MAXIMILIAN GOING TO EXECUTION	. . . . .	1433
PLACE OF EXECUTION OF MAXIMILIAN AT QUERETARO	. . . . .	1435
JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY	. . . . .	1441
REAR ADMIRAL RAPHAEL SEMMES	. . . . .	1442
THE SINKING OF THE PRIVATEER "ALABAMA," BY THE "KEAR- SAGE," OFF THE HARBOR OF CHERBOURG, FRANCE	. . . . .	1443
FACSIMILE OF THE BOND OF FUNDED LOAN REPRESENTING THE AWARD OF THE "ALABAMA" CLAIMS	. . . . .	1450
HORACE GREELEY	. . . . .	1457
GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER	. . . . .	1474
CUSTER'S LAST STAND	. . . . .	1475
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES	. . . . .	1480
SAMUEL JONES TILDEN	. . . . .	1481
JUSTICE JOSEPH P. BRADLEY	. . . . .	1487
LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS LAMAR	. . . . .	1492
ROSCOE CONKLING	. . . . .	1504
JAMES A. GARFIELD	. . . . .	1509
INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD ON THE EAST PORTICO OF THE CAPITOL, MARCH 4, 1881	. . . . .	1513
CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR	. . . . .	1519
JOHN JAMES AUDUBON	. . . . .	1525
GENERAL JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN	. . . . .	1528
JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE	. . . . .	1529
GROVER CLEVELAND	. . . . .	1532
THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.	. . . . .	1539
JOHN P. ALTGELD	. . . . .	1556

	PAGE
GRANT'S TOMB, RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK . . . . .	1557
BENJAMIN HARRISON . . . . .	1562
MARQUIS OF SALISBURY . . . . .	1564
THOMAS BRACKETT REED . . . . .	1567
HON. JOHN SHERMAN . . . . .	1570
MALIETOA, KING OF THE SAMOAN ISLANDS . . . . .	1578
BOOMERS ENTERING OKLAHOMA TERRITORY . . . . .	1589
LILIUOKALANI, QUEEN OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS . . . . .	1606
EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN BATTLESHIP . . . . .	1619
U. S. BATTLESHIP "INDIANA" IN THE HARBOR OF NEW YORK DURING THE WINTER OF 1897 . . . . .	1622
LOOKING NORTH FROM THE OBELISK, CHICAGO EXPOSITION . . . . .	1623
OBELISK AND THE PALACE OF MECHANICS' ART, CHICAGO EX- POSITION . . . . .	1625
WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN . . . . .	1631
WILLIAM MCKINLEY . . . . .	1638
CLIMBING THE CHILKOOT PASS ON THE WAY TO THE KLONDIKE . . . . .	1640
VALERIANO WEYLER . . . . .	1643
U. S. BATTLESHIP "MAINE" ENTERING THE HARBOR OF HAVANA, JANUARY, 1898 . . . . .	1646
GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER . . . . .	1650
ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY . . . . .	1651
U. S. BATTLESHIP "OREGON" . . . . .	1653
COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND TWO ROUGH RIDER ORDERLIES AT SAN JUAN . . . . .	1654
DEFEAT OF CERVERA AT SANTIAGO . . . . .	1655
PASCUAL CERVERA Y TOPETE . . . . .	1657
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CITY OF SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO . . . . .	1659
ADMIRAL WINFIELD SCOTT SCHLEY . . . . .	1664
NIPA HUTS, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS . . . . .	1666
EMILIO AGUINALDO . . . . .	1668
DEATH OF GENERAL HENRY W. LAWTON . . . . .	1669
JUDGE WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT . . . . .	1675
"THE KANSAS YELL"—BRIGADIER GENERAL FUNSTON LEADING HIS MEN INTO BATTLE AGAINST THE FILIPINO INSURGENTS, MAY 2, 1899 . . . . .	1677
GENERAL ESTRADA PALMA . . . . .	1679
CARRYING THE BODY OF PRESIDENT MCKINLEY TO THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON . . . . .	1684

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xi

	PAGE
JOHN HAY . . . . .	1696
ALTON BROOKS PARKER . . . . .	1705
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE PEACE ENVOYS AS GUESTS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON BOARD THE YACHT "MAYFLOWER" . .	1723
DANIEL BOONE . . . . .	1729
SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE . . . . .	1744
THOMAS ALVA EDISON . . . . .	1747
THE FIRST MESSAGE SENT BY THE MORSE TELEGRAPH . .	1748

## MAPS

TERRITORIAL DEPENDENCIES OF THE U. S. . . .	<i>Facing page</i>	1682
THE UNITED STATES IN 1906 . . . .	" "	1700





THE HISTORY OF  
THE UNITED STATES



## Chapter XXXVI

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT AND THE RESULTS OF RECONSTRUCTION. 1869-1877

#### I

##### ELECTION AND INAUGURATION

ON May 20, 1868, four days after the adjournment of the Senate as a court of impeachment in the case of Andrew Johnson, the national convention of the Republican party assembled at Chicago to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. Although sorely disappointed at the failure of the Senate to convict Mr. Johnson, the delegates were filled with enthusiasm at the prospect of a harmonious convention and the certainty of success at the elections. The chief work of the convention had already been determined, so that little was left but to ratify the popular choice. On the first ballot General Grant was nominated for President. Like that other great military hero who twenty years before had been elevated to the Presidency, General Grant was not a politician; in fact his political views were hardly known to the public at large. Before the war he had voted with the Democrats, but since then had given indications that his sympathies were with the Republicans, and after his break with Johnson there was no doubt as to where he stood. For Vice President the convention nominated Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, a man of great popularity, who was then serving his third term as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The platform adopted by the convention contained two important and conspicuous declarations, one relating to negro suffrage and the other to the manner of the payment of the public debt. The first declared (the fifteenth amendment, it will be remembered, had not yet been proposed) that it was the duty of Congress to guarantee the suffrage to the negroes of the South, but that the States of the North should be left free to determine for themselves whether they should have negro suffrage or not.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the Republicans proposed to force negro suffrage, with all its consequences, upon the States of the South, while those of the North, where the black population was inconsiderable, were to decide the question for themselves. That they did not want negro suffrage for themselves at this time was clearly shown by the fact that several of the Northern States, notably Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Kansas, in the previous year had voted down negro suffrage amendments to their constitutions by large majorities, in Ohio the majority aggregating over 50,000 votes.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Blaine, one of the Republican leaders of Congress at the time, pronounces this declaration an evasion of duty quite unworthy of the Republican party, and asserts that it carried with it an element of deception.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Blaine further characterizes it as a "stroke of expediency" intended to overcome the prejudices against negro suffrage in some of the Northern States, particularly Indiana and California, where a close vote was anticipated. Looked at from whatever point of view, it was discreditable to the party, and its leaders have never ceased to apologize for it. The provision in the platform with regard to the payment of the public debt, on the other hand, was highly commendable. It declared that the debt should be paid, dollar for dollar, in coin instead of legal

<sup>1</sup> "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1868, p. 744.

<sup>2</sup> Dunning, "Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction," p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 388.

tender currency, which would mean partial repudiation. A few days after the adjournment of the convention General Grant accepted the nomination in a brief letter, which is chiefly memorable for the sentiment of the old soldier, "Let us have peace." It expressed the feeling of many good men in both parties, and it proved to be a popular cry.

The Democratic national convention met in the city of New York on July 4. Great interest, not to say anxiety, was felt as to who would be the nominee and what attitude the convention would take on the question of reconstruction and the payment of the public debt. No one doubted what its position toward negro suffrage would be: it could only be one of hostility. The two most conspicuous candidates were George H. Pendleton and Chief Justice Chase, both of Ohio. Pendleton was the leading advocate of the greenback policy and favored the payment of the national debt in legal tender notes, though depreciated at the time far below the standard of coin. This meant outright repudiation, and the Eastern Democrats rejected Pendleton, although they were obliged to accept his platform.

Chief Justice Chase, who, as has been stated, had resigned from the Cabinet in 1864 to seek the Republican nomination against Mr. Lincoln, was now an anxious aspirant for the Democratic nomination.<sup>4</sup> Few men have had more ardent ambitions for the Presidency than had Chase. For a time he looked forward with hope to the Republican nomination in 1868, but when it became evident that General Grant undoubtedly would be the nominee, he turned to the Democratic party and eagerly sought its support. He had started upon his political career as a Free Soil Democrat; recently he had taken occasion to criticise the reconstruction policy; he had presided over Johnson's

<sup>4</sup> Shuckers, "Life of Chase," ch. i.

impeachment trial to the satisfaction of the Democrats, and had, as Chief Justice, concurred in several important opinions which upheld Democratic theories of government.<sup>5</sup> "I do not believe," he wrote in September, 1868, "in military government for American States, nor in military commissions for the trial of American citizens; nor in the supervision of the executive and judicial departments of the general government by Congress, no matter how patriotic the motive may be."<sup>6</sup> These Democratic virtues were highly extolled, but unfortunately for the political ambition of the Chief Justice he was a believer in negro suffrage, his platform being "universal amnesty and universal suffrage." At this time the Democrats were ready to take a candidate with almost any views, provided he possessed availability; but a negro suffragist was too much for them, and so Mr. Chase was set aside.

After taking twenty-one ballots, in the course of which various candidates were voted for, Horatio Seymour of New York was nominated for President by a unanimous vote. He was the presiding officer of the convention, and doubtless would have been nominated earlier had he not persistently refused to allow the use of his name. Even when he saw the drift toward himself he endeavored, as chairman, to prevent his own nomination, but without avail. Seymour was a man of large ability, a persuasive speaker and a popular politician. During the war he was governor of New York, and, while criticising the administration for some of its acts, he gave it cordial military support.<sup>7</sup>

For Vice President, General Francis P. Blair of Missouri was nominated. Blair had been a Republican, but was now a radical Democrat and had recently made utter-

<sup>5</sup> Notably the cases of *ex parte* Garland and *ex parte* Cummings.

<sup>6</sup> Hart, "Life of Chase," pp. 362-368.

<sup>7</sup> Rhodes, "History of the United States," vol. iv. pp. 273, 276.



ances which proved a heavy burden for his party to carry; among other things he had suggested that the President should disperse the "carpet-bag" governments of the South and allow the white people to reorganize their governments as they pleased. The platform adopted declared that all the obligations of the government, not payable by their express terms in coin, ought to be paid in lawful money; that is, in depreciated paper. On the question of suffrage it declared that "any attempt of Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of its right to regulate the suffrage or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which cannot find any warrant in the Constitution." The Reconstruction Acts were declared to be "usurpations unconstitutional, revolutionary and void"; immediate restoration of all the Southern States to their rights in the Union was demanded, and the Republican party was denounced for the "unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career."<sup>8</sup> These were the main issues. "The same currency for the bondholder and the plowholder" was one of the favorite catch phrases of the Democrats, while the Republicans aptly responded, "the *best* currency for both the bondholder and the plowholder."

With a strong appeal to the nation to keep its plighted faith with those who aided it with loans in its darkest hours, and with an invincible military hero as their candidate, the Republicans had from the first an overwhelming advantage. Blair took the stump, but his speeches did the Democratic cause more harm than good. In the last days of the campaign Mr. Seymour went into the field and by his persuasive oratory endeavored to stem the tide, but to no avail. Grant received 214 votes as against 80 for Seymour. Three of the eleven seceded States, Mississippi, Virginia and Texas, took no part in the election. Of the other eight Grant carried six,

<sup>8</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," pp. 322-323.



thanks to negro suffrage, white disfranchisement and "carpet-bag" governments in the South.

The joy of the Republicans, however, subsided when they paused to analyze the vote which Grant received. As a matter of fact he lost New York, New Jersey, Oregon, and Delaware, of the Northern States, and carried California only by the small majority of 514 votes, Indiana by only 961, and various other States by smaller majorities than they were accustomed to cast for Republican tickets. Had not the Republicans been able to carry the South by means of the "carpet-bag" governments, organized there and maintained largely by Federal troops, Seymour would have been elected by a large majority. Considering the circumstances, says Mr. Blaine, the presidential election of 1868 must be regarded as the most remarkable and the most unaccountable in our political annals.<sup>9</sup>

General Grant was inaugurated President on March 4, surrounded by the customary civic and military displays, but contrary to the usual custom governing inaugural ceremonies, the retiring President did not ride to the Capitol with the President-elect, on account of the strained personal relations which had existed between them since the unfortunate Stanton episode. The new President delivered a brief inaugural address, saying that the great office which he was about to assume had come to him unsought and that he entered upon the discharge of its duties untrammelled; he pleaded for the payment of the public debt in sound money and expressed the hope that the fifteenth amendment would be speedily ratified.<sup>10</sup> For his Cabinet he chose E. B. Washburne, long a representative in Congress from Illinois, to be Secretary of State; A. T. Stewart, the merchant prince of New York, to be Secretary of the Treasury; General

<sup>9</sup> "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 408.

<sup>10</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. vii. p. 7.

Jacob D. Cox of Ohio, a Civil War veteran, to be Secretary of the Interior; E. R. Hoar, an able jurist of Massachusetts, to be Attorney General; J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, to be Postmaster General; A. E. Borie, of Pennsylvania to be Secretary of the Navy, while General Schofield was retained as Secretary of War.

The President was greatly chagrined shortly afterward to find that Stewart was ineligible, on account of an old law which provided that no person was eligible to the position of Secretary of the Treasury who was directly or indirectly interested in foreign trade or commerce. Mr. Stewart's nomination having already been unanimously confirmed with the other Cabinet appointees, the President suggested that he be exempted from the operation of the law. But this proposition was not looked upon with favor, and the President was compelled, with great reluctance, to withdraw the nomination. George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his stead. Other changes in the Cabinet soon followed. Mr. Washburne resigned to accept the post of minister to France, and was succeeded by Hamilton Fish, of New York. Mr. Fish belonged to one of the old Knickerbocker families, had served in both houses of Congress, and as governor of New York. He filled the position of Secretary of State throughout the eight years of Grant's administration, with distinguished ability, and more than any other of the President's official advisers added strength and prestige to the administration. The retirement of General Schofield from the War Department, and Mr. Borie from the Navy Department, soon led to still other changes in the Cabinet.

The Congress which organized on March 4, 1869, was the first since the outbreak of the war in 1861 which contained representatives from the seceded States. Among the leading senators and members from the North were James G.

Blaine of Maine, who was elected Speaker of the House; Hannibal Hamlin, of the same State and formerly Vice President; George F. Edmunds, of Vermont; Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, one of the ablest of the old-time Democratic members; John Sherman, of Ohio; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware.

As a result of the abnormal conditions in the South, nearly all the members from that section were Republicans, and about one-half of them belonged to the class stigmatized as "carpet-baggers." To occupy the seat which Jefferson Davis had resigned in 1861, the legislature of Mississippi, composed mainly of colored members and "carpet-baggers," sent to Washington a negro parson who had, in the capacity of chaplain, followed the Union army into the State during the war. His colleague was a Federal brigadier from Maine, who had scarcely been in the State more than a year, who owned no property there and had few acquaintances. These were fair types of the senators and representatives which, as a result of the reconstruction policy of Congress, the Southern States sent to Washington in 1869. Most of them were men of doubtful character, and were, besides, too little identified with the interests of the South to win the confidence of the substantial people of that section. Coming to the South with the army and remaining there to make use of the vote of the ignorant blacks in order to secure office, they naturally aroused the suspicion if not the enmity of the white people of the South.

Soon after his inauguration President Grant caused it to be known to the Republican leaders that he desired the repeal or modification of the Tenure of Office Act in order to have a free hand in the matter of appointments and removals. He intimated that if this were not done he would permit Johnson's appointees to remain in office. Being anx-

ious to have their own friends appointed to the offices, the congressional leaders made haste to bring in a bill modifying the obnoxious law, and it was promptly passed. There was no reason for continuing the law, since it had been enacted for no other purpose than to checkmate President Johnson.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the greater part of Grant's administration the Southern question continued to occupy a position of paramount importance in national politics. At the time of his accession to the Presidency, Mississippi, Virginia, and Texas were still unrepresented in either house of Congress and were still held under military rule. With commendable good sense the President urged Congress to give the people of these States an opportunity to vote separately on the obnoxious provisions of the constitutions which had been framed by the reconstruction conventions and which as a whole had failed of ratification. Congress followed his recommendation, the constitutions were resubmitted and ratified without the obnoxious clauses, the States were readmitted to representation in 1870, and, as already stated, the military government therein came to an end. At last reconstruction was accomplished, but its fruits ripened just in time to plague Grant's whole administration and to almost ruin the South.

<sup>11</sup> The Tenure of Office Act was not entirely repealed until 1887.

## II

## “CARPET-BAG” AND NEGRO RULE IN THE SOUTH; THE KU-KLUX-KLAN; THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The reconstruction acts, by enfranchising the colored race and disqualifying large numbers of the more influential whites, made it possible for the blacks to get control of the governments in most of the Southern States and to rule them in a most ignorant and extravagant manner.<sup>12</sup> The black voters were often made use of by unprincipled white adventurers from the North, who flocked to the South after the close of the war, some to engage in the profitable industry of cotton planting, others to fill the offices from which the more prominent Southern whites were excluded. These Northern immigrants came to be called “carpet-baggers” by the native whites, in allusion to the popular assertion that all their worldly effects were carried in a carpet-bag. By no means all the Northern men who came to the South at this time were unscrupulous adventurers bent upon plunder, yet they all allied themselves with the negro in political matters, and undertook to destroy his confidence in the Southern white man. A few ex-Confederates also became Republicans in order to share the offices with the white “carpet-baggers” and negroes. They were stigmatized as “scalawags.” The influence of the carpet-bag class over the negroes was at first very great. They organized the blacks into political clubs, instructed them in the art of voting, and made use of them to further their own political ambitions. They secured for themselves the nominations to the more important offices and were easily elected by large majorities.

<sup>12</sup> Although the fifteenth amendment was not ratified until 1870, the negroes voted in 1867 under the Reconstruction Acts, and thereafter under the reconstruction constitutions, which in every case gave them the right of suffrage.



But the colored voters soon manifested discontent at this policy and accordingly demanded a share of the offices for themselves, inasmuch as they furnished the votes. Consequently many of the important positions came to be held by ignorant blacks, who but a few years before were field-hands on the plantations. Some of the more intelligent were elected representatives and senators in Congress. In several States they filled the offices of lieutenant governor, secretary of state, superintendent of education, and other important positions. In Mississippi in 1873 three of the five principal State offices were occupied by negroes, and two of them proved to be rascals of the worst type. In some instances they even sat upon the benches of the higher courts, and filled many minor judicial positions. In South Carolina there were said to have been at one time 200 trial justices who could not read, and there were counties in Mississippi in which not one of the justices of the peace could write his name nor any member of the board of supervisors read the ordinances which they passed. They occupied seats in the legislatures of all the Southern States, that of Mississippi, in 1871, having as many as 64 colored members, while South Carolina had 85 black as against 72 white members in 1868.<sup>13</sup> A considerable portion of these were ignorant, some of them were unable to read or write, and most of them were the pliant dupes of unscrupulous white men.

With the State and local governments controlled by ignorant negroes and designing white men, an era of extravagance, misrule, and corruption set in, which in some instances amounted to outright robbery and plunder. Long and frequent sessions of the legislature were held, for service in which the members voted themselves large *per diem* allowances. Old laws were ruthlessly repealed and replaced by bulky statutes, many of which bore the ear-

<sup>13</sup> Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," p. 294.

marks of animosity and oppression. Counties were rechristened with names full of offense to Southern whites, laws favoring social equality were passed, public school systems on an extravagant scale for the children of both races were established and taught by Northern teachers. Offices were greatly multiplied—many of them mere sinecures—for the benefit of Republicans. Gigantic schemes of public improvement were launched, marked by frauds and extravagance, and bonds were issued as if they created no obligation to pay. The rate of taxation was increased out of all proportion to the impoverished condition of the people resulting from four years of destructive war. In Mississippi this rate was increased from one mill on the dollar in 1868, to fourteen mills in 1871, and the inability of the people to pay resulted in the confiscation of one-fifth of the land of the State.<sup>14</sup>

The following comparative table of expenditures in Mississippi under Democratic and Republican administrations is significant:<sup>15</sup>

Year	Democratic Expenditures	Year	Republican Expenditures
1867	\$625,817.80	1870	\$1,061,249.90
1868	525,678.80	1871	1,729,046.34
1869	463,219.71	1872	1,596,828.64

The cost of public printing rose from \$8,675 in 1868 to \$127,848 in 1871; the cost of maintaining the judicial establishment increased from \$144,565 in 1861 to \$434,973 in 1872; the *per diem* of members of the legislature amounted to \$46,362 in 1866 and \$166,632 in 1870; while the cost of clerical service for the legislature increased from

<sup>14</sup> Report of the State Auditor in "Miscellaneous Documents," second session Forty-third Congress, No. 265, p. 530.

<sup>15</sup> Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," p. 320.



\$5,861 in 1866 to \$32,634 in 1873. Fortunately for the taxpayers of Mississippi, the constitution contained limitations on the power of the legislature to borrow money or loan the credit of the State, as a result of which the reconstructionists were prevented from plunging the State in debt to the same extent as was done in other Southern States.

In South Carolina a wholesale system of plunder and robbery was carried out by the reconstructionists. The amount of taxes levied and collected increased from \$400,000 in 1860 to \$2,000,000 in 1871, notwithstanding the fact that during this period the value of taxable property in the State decreased from \$490,000,000 to \$184,000,000. After four years of reconstruction the State debt had increased from \$5,407,306 to \$18,515,003, including unpaid interest for three years.

As soon as the reconstructionists became intrenched in power the legislature proceeded to fit up the legislative chambers after the manner of a European palace. Clocks that cost five dollars apiece and which had been considered good enough for the aristocratic *ante-bellum* law-makers were discarded for others at six hundred dollars each; in the place of forty-cent spittoons eight-dollar cuspidors were installed; two hundred-dollar sofas were placed in the lobbies for the comfort of members and their friends; ten-dollar desks were too common for colored legislators and "carpet-baggers" to stretch their legs under, and so they were torn from the chambers and replaced by handsome mahogany ones costing \$175 apiece; finally, for the benefit of the young and effeminate Solons the walls were hung with mirrors and pier glasses costing from \$400 to \$600 each. Two hundred thousand dollars was expended in four years for furniture for the capitol, and \$125,000 was spent in maintaining a restaurant and bar-room for the convenience of members and their friends.

Large sums were voted to officials and private individuals in form of gratuities, while millions were squandered in reckless schemes of public improvement.<sup>16</sup>

In Louisiana the results of negro and "carpet-bag" rule were but little better than in South Carolina. Before the war the average annual State expenditures barely exceeded \$1,000,000; from 1868 to 1872 they averaged over \$5,000,000. In the short period of four years more than \$54,000,000 were added to the State and city indebtedness of Louisiana, with nothing to show for it.<sup>17</sup>

The rate of taxation in New Orleans increased from 15 mills on the dollar in 1868 to 30 mills in 1873, notwithstanding the enormous decline in the value of all taxable property. During this period the governor of Louisiana was a young adventurer from the North who found himself at the close of the war without means or acquaintances. Ingratiating himself with the negroes, whom he organized and controlled with remarkable success, he was elected governor and for four years plundered the State with a shameful hand and retired from office with a fortune of no mean amount.

In North Carolina the chief sin of the reconstructionists was the wholesale squandering of public funds in improvements of various kinds. The legislature authorized the issue of over \$25,000,000 in bonds for railway construction, and \$14,000,000 were actually issued, although not a mile of railroad was built.<sup>18</sup>

The compass of this work will not allow a detailed account of the saturnalia of misrule, extravagance and plunder which afflicted the Southern States during the

<sup>16</sup> See Herbert (editor), "Why the Solid South," pp. 89, 90, 101; see also Pike, "The Prostrate State," Allen, "The Administration of Governor Chamberlain in South Carolina," and Nordhoff, "The Cotton States in 1875."

<sup>17</sup> Sage, in Herbert's "Why the Solid South," p. 405.

<sup>18</sup> Vance, in Herbert's "Why the Solid South," p. 82.

negro and "carpet-bag" régime. The picture given above will suffice for the rest. In all, as in Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana, it was the rule of the ignorant, the corrupt and the vicious, although in none of the others was the plunder and robbery so great.

Under these conditions the whites, who paid 99 per cent. of the taxes and were driven almost to desperation, resorted to violent means for ridding themselves of the negro incubus. This was accomplished by the organization of secret bands, of which the Ku-Klux-Klan, said to have originated in Giles County, Tennessee, in 1866, was the most effective.

At first it was intended to serve as a disciplinary organization for frightening the ignorant blacks into good behavior, but with the political ascendancy of the negro the purposes of the Ku-Klux-Klan were perverted to meet the new situation. Its jurisdiction was styled the "Invisible Empire"; the chief functionary was the Grand Wizard; each State was a realm ruled over by a Grand Dragon. Then there were Dominions, Provinces, and Dens presided over by Grand Titans, Grand Cyclopes and Ghouls. The organization was elaborate and mysterious; there was a constitution and a solemn ritual, and a gruesome mode of initiation, all of which appealed to the curious and at the same time excited the fear of the superstitious blacks. The members of the Klan wore hideous disguises, the sight of which at night terrified the negroes and sent them running to their cabins.

Exaggerated tales were circulated among the freedmen in regard to the character and powers of the Ku-Klux. The mere rumor that they were "riding" in the neighborhood caused every black to retire to his cabin. It was common among them to magnify a band of a dozen into a hundred. They were never visited in their own minds by

less than fifty, and the number was usually two or three hundred. The idea was widespread among the negroes during the early days of reconstruction that the Ku-Klux were spirits of dead Confederate soldiers, and were possessed of supernatural powers, such as the ability to take themselves to pieces at will, rattle their bones, and drink whole pailfuls of water. The Ku-Klux practice of conversing in mysterious and unintelligible language, the negroes called "mum-micking." In Mississippi they told of a horrible monster who lived in the Yazoo swamps and went about the land with a flesh bag in the shape of a heart, "hollerin' for fried nigger meat."

The "decree" of the camp was sometimes delivered to the person for whom it was intended by the captain, in a pompous manner, and was pronounced as an order of the Grand Cyclops registered in some corner of Hades. If it was simply a warning, the offender was informed that it was the practice of the Klan never to give its warnings but once, and the notice was usually posted in some conspicuous place about the premises of the person for whom it was intended.

The following warning was found on the door-post of a Freedmen's Bureau Agent in Mississippi, in 1868, is an illustration of Ku-Klux methods.

K. K. K.

*Dismal Swamp*

2 D, XIA.

*11th hour*

Mene, mene, tekell, upharsin. The bloody dagger is drawn; the trying hour is at hand; beware! Your steps are marked; the eye of the dark chief is upon you. First he warns; then the avenging dagger flashes in the moonlight.

By order of the Grand Cyclops:

LIXTO

Another specimen of this class of document, which was put in evidence before the Congressional Ku-Klux Com-

mittee, is here appended, it being reproduced with all its peculiarities.

[A picture of crossed swords, coffin, skull and crossbones, owl, bloody moon. Train of cars, each labeled K.K.K.]

Dam your Soul! The horrible sepulcher and bloody moon has at last arrived. Some live today, tomorrow "Die." We the undersigned understand through our Grand Cyclops that you have recommended a big Black Nigger for Male Agent on our nu rode; wel sir Jest you understand in time if he gets on the rode you can make up your mind to pull roape. If you have anything to say in regard to the matter, meet the Grand Cyclops and Conclave at Den No. 4, 12 o'clock midnight Oct. 1, 1871.

When you are in Calera we want you to hold your tongue and not speak so much with your mouth or otherwise you will be taken on supprize and led out by the Klan and learnt to stretch hemp.

Beware ! Beware ! Beware ! Beware !

PHILLIP ISENBAUM

*Grand Cyclops*

JOHN BANKSTON

ESON DAVES

WARREN THOMAS

BLOODY BONES

You know who and all  
others of the Klan

Prominent negro politicians, obnoxious "carpet-baggers," and "scalawags," and even Northern teachers of negro schools, were the most common victims of the Ku-Klux outrages.

After the withdrawal from the Southern States of the military governments between 1868 and 1870 the Ku-Klux disorders increased to such an extent as to threaten the general peace and security of the South. Republican legislatures passed anti-Ku-Klux acts, and Republican governments offered large rewards for persons guilty of going in disguise to commit crime; but public sentiment was too much in favor of Ku-Klux methods to make either effective. Moreover, it was next to impossible to convict anyone if caught and put on trial. Upon the recommendation of



President Grant Congress appointed a joint committee to make a thorough investigation of conditions in the South, and the voluminous testimony which it took showed conclusively that many murders had been committed in the Southern States by Ku-Klux bands, besides many outrages of a less flagrant character.

To meet the situation Congress passed, in 1870, the so-called Enforcement Act, giving the Federal courts jurisdiction over certain offenses committed with the intent of depriving colored persons of their rights as citizens of the United States; imposing heavy penalties on all persons guilty of committing or attempting such offenses; and authorizing the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* and to make use of the army and navy to enforce the Act. In April of the following year Congress passed another Enforcement Act which further extended the jurisdiction of the United States courts and authorized the President to employ the army and navy and to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* if necessary to put an end to the Ku-Klux outrages. It also empowered Federal judges to exclude from juries persons believed to be in sympathy with the Klan. In pursuance of this Act the Federal attorneys in the Southern States made special exertions to bring about the indictment of those engaged in committing Ku-Klux outrages, and hundreds of indictments were found, but few convictions followed.

Just after the war, when the South was threatened with grave disorders on account of the sudden emancipation of the entire slave population and the partial collapse of the civil authority, the Ku-Klux organization might have been justifiable, as were the vigilance committees in California in 1851. For this reason the leading men of the South—among them many of the late Confederate commanders like Generals Gordon and Forrest—joined the organization and gave it their support; but when its purposes degenerated

into political persecution they withdrew, and henceforth the organization was made up principally of lawless and irresponsible men. Our judgment must be that much of the responsibility for these Ku-Klux disorders must rest ultimately upon the authors of the congressional system of reconstruction. The policy by which political power in the South was suddenly transferred from the hitherto dominant class to their late slaves controlled by adventurers from the North was one of the most dangerous experiments ever undertaken by the law-makers of any country. That such a policy could have been carried out unattended by social and political disorders, especially in view of all the attendant circumstances, no intelligent man will for a moment suppose. History abounds with illustrations of the truth that the secret conclave, the league, and the conspiracy are the sequences of political proscription and disfranchisement. The Illuminés in France, the Tugendbund in Germany, the Carbonari in Italy, and Nihilism in Russia are notable examples. In the Southern States opposition to the congressional policy of reconstruction did not take the form of armed and organized resistance, but of secret retaliation upon its agents and specially favored beneficiaries, regardless of race, color, or nativity.<sup>19</sup>

Acts were also passed by Congress for the supervision of Federal elections by United States officers, in the hope of securing to colored voters the unobstructed enjoyment of the right of suffrage, which the fifteenth amendment had indirectly conferred upon them. But all such efforts of Congress failed in the end, because, as then attempted, the policy involved negro domination over the white race, an impossible condition. To hand the Southern State governments over

<sup>19</sup> See Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," pp. 338-353; also Brown, "The Lower South," ch. iv., Fleming, "The Ku-Klux Constitution," and the Ku-Klux "Ritual" and the "Majority and Minority Reports of the Congressional Committee on Affairs in the Insurrectionary States."



to the rule of the ignorant blacks is now generally admitted to have been a grievous error.

For a time the Republicans in the South were able, with the aid of Federal troops, to maintain their power; but as the extravagance and corruption of their rule increased, the discontent of the whites grew in similar proportion. Organized intimidation and ballot box frauds were openly committed for the purpose of defeating the Republicans in the elections. Race collisions and election riots were of frequent occurrence, and in all of them the blacks were the chief sufferers.<sup>20</sup> In several States rival governments were set up and civil war was threatened. Negro militia companies were organized to sustain the Republican governments, but they were ineffective and served only to inflame the passions of the whites and increase their determination to overthrow the Republicans by violence. As time passed the government at Washington showed less readiness to call out troops to interfere at the elections and a growing disposition to leave the Southern State governments to take care of themselves. Already as early as 1870 the Democrats had regained control of North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia and Virginia. Meantime the progress of the Southern movement was aided by the wholesale removal by Congress of the

<sup>20</sup> In 1874 a battle occurred between the blacks and whites at Vicksburg, Miss., in the course of which 30 or 40 negroes were killed. The affair grew out of trouble between the races on account of extensive frauds and abuses in the administration of the county government, which was chiefly in the hands of colored officials. In the following year an ante-election riot occurred between the whites and blacks at Clinton, Miss., which resulted fatally for many blacks and some white men. Others of less importance took place in other parts of the State. In Arkansas two "carpet-baggers," Brooks and Baxter, rival claimants for the governorship, and their adherents kept up a struggle for two years. President Grant finally settled the matter in favor of Baxter. In Louisiana a somewhat similar struggle was kept up between Kellogg and McEnery, and later between Packard and Nicholls. An armed battle took place in New Orleans, and Kellogg was driven from the State House, whereupon Federal troops intervened and reinstated him.

political disabilities of the Southern whites, and the division of the Southern Republicans into radical and conservative wings, the latter of which joined with the Democratic organizations in their opposition to negro rule.

In 1874 Alabama and Arkansas were carried by the Democrats, and the "carpet-bag" governments in those States came to an end. In the following year, after a remarkable campaign, characterized by violence, riots and wholesale intimidation, Mississippi was "redeemed" and the newly elected Democratic legislature speedily got rid of three of the State officers, including the governor, by means of impeachment.<sup>21</sup> In the following year the "Mississippi plan" was employed with success in the three remaining Southern States which were still "unreclaimed," namely Louisiana, Texas and Florida. Solid Democratic delegations were now sent to Washington, most of the "carpet-baggers" departed from the South, leaving the Southern whites in control, and the unfortunate era of misrule, extravagance, ignorance and oppression happily came to an end. The recent disfranchisement of the negro voters in Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina and Virginia, and the practical judicial approval by the Supreme Court of these disfranchising constitutions, insures the permanent rule of the white race and removes the incentive for the former disfranchisements by force and fraud.<sup>22</sup>

By decisions of the United States Supreme Court in 1872 and 1875 the Enforcement and Ku-Klux Acts were practically nullified, it being held that they did not apply to the actions of individuals or bands in depriving colored persons of their rights, but only to State action.<sup>23</sup> An Act of Congress, passed in 1875, to secure equal treatment of

<sup>21</sup> Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," ch. xi.

<sup>22</sup> Williams vs. Miss., 170 U. S. 213.

<sup>23</sup> See the cases of U. S. vs. Cruikshank, 92 U. S. Reports, and U. S. vs. Harris, 106 U. S. Reports.

colored persons with white persons in all hotels, theaters, railroad cars, steamboats and other public places, was held by the Supreme Court in 1883 to be null and void as being beyond the power of Congress.<sup>24</sup>

So far, therefore, as the political and social rights of the negro are concerned, the work of the reconstructionists has been largely undone.<sup>25</sup> The civil rights secured to him by the various statutes and amendments, however, remain intact. In acquiring, holding and disposing of property, in entering into contracts, in making use of the courts, in his personal freedom, in the right to engage in any occupation, business or profession that his inclination or capacity may allow; in short, in the right to all the benefits of equal protection of the laws he is on a legal equality with the white man. In the benefits of the public school system he shares equally with the white man, although he bears but an insignificant portion of the burden. Most communities in the South to-day maintain public schools for the benefit of colored children, and there is not a Southern State that does not maintain a university or a normal college for the higher education of the young men and women of the colored race. These were the great results to the negro race of the Civil War and the resulting legislation.

It is only in social and political matters that the colored man is at a disadvantage. The Anglo-Saxon entertains a natural feeling of prejudice against him and refuses to mingle with him on terms of social equality. But this is not a matter that can be changed by legislation; the futile attempts of the reconstructionists to do this show how unavailing such legislation is. The only solution is the elevation of the race through its own exertion to the same mental and moral plane as that occupied by the white race; that done,

<sup>24</sup> Civil Rights cases, 100 U. S.

<sup>25</sup> See "The Undoing of Reconstruction," by Professor W. A. Dunning, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. lxxxviii, p. 437,

Anglo-Saxon prejudices will disappear. Until then it will perhaps be better for both races that they should live apart socially. And the same may be said of the political rights of the negro. It is now universally admitted that the sudden investment of the great mass of ignorant blacks with political power so soon after their emancipation was the greatest blunder the reconstructionists committed. The sad years of misrule and plunder which followed in the South abundantly proved this. The right to vote and hold office in a democratic republic like ours is a responsibility which cannot be safely intrusted to the ignorant, either in the North or the South. Those of the negro race who have not qualified themselves by education have no right to complain if they are denied the ballot. And what is said of the disfranchisement of the ignorant black applies with equal force to the ignorant white man. Such devices as the "grandfather" clause adopted in some of the Southern constitutions, the real purpose of which is to exclude the ignorant negro and at the same time enfranchise the ignorant white man, are not only indefensible, but wholly unnecessary to the maintenance of white supremacy.

That the future of the colored race must depend largely upon its own efforts, sociologists and economists are practically agreed. Equality in social matters and political privileges are not indispensable, are in fact hardly conducive to its healthy development. What it must have, and what on the whole it does have, is industrial and educational opportunity. Political and social privilege it can easily forego until the race, as a race, has reached a higher intellectual and moral plane.



## III

FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1867-1873; THE FRENCH IN MEXICO;  
PURCHASE OF ALASKA; SETTLEMENT OF THE  
"ALABAMA" CLAIMS CONTROVERSY

Several episodes in the foreign relations of the United States which occurred during the reconstruction period deserve a brief notice. The first of these grew out of the occupation of Mexico by France during the Civil War. For some time prior to the outbreak of the war Mexico was torn with dissension and was in consequence reduced to a state bordering on anarchy. Within forty years there had been nearly forty revolutions, with counter-revolutions led by some chief of either the Liberal or the Clerical party; and during the same time there had been over seventy supreme executives. Assaults and murders were common in the City of Mexico; the provinces were shaken by guerrilla warfare and the highways terrorized by bands of outlaws. The outrages upon foreigners became so numerous that several European countries were led to make formal protests to the Mexican Government. In 1860 Juarez, the leader of the Liberal party, succeeded in driving out Miramon, the head of the Church party, and installed himself as President of the republic. One of the first acts of the Juarez government was to suspend payment for two years of all foreign debts. Among the foreign nations affected were England, France, Spain and the United States, who held claims against Mexico amounting to more than \$80,000,000. Seeing no prospect of collecting the amounts due, England, France and Spain decided upon joint intervention, and late in 1861 sent ships to Vera Cruz to seize the Mexican custom houses and sequester the revenues. But England and Spain, soon becoming dissatisfied with the conduct of France and aroused by her

suspicious, withdrew, leaving the French a free hand. The French emperor, Napoleon III., restless and uneasy, now saw a chance, as he thought, to check the supremacy of the United States in matters on the Western hemisphere by establishing a French empire in Mexico. Accordingly, after making a demand upon the Mexican Government for an indemnity which he knew could not be met, and receiving a



NAPOLÉON III  
Photograph from life

negative reply, he dispatched an army of 35,000 men to Mexico, and in June, 1863, it triumphantly entered the Mexican capital. The French commander called an assembly, mainly of enemies of the Juarez government, and the convention, under French auspices, decreed the overthrow of the republic and the establishment of an empire. The crown was offered to the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of the present Austrian emperor, Francis Joseph, and in

June, 1864, he made a brilliant entry into the Mexican capital, animated by generous motives, but with no better support for the maintenance of his crown than the aid of French troops.<sup>26</sup>

The United States held that the action of France was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but as the hands of the government were tied on account of the Civil War it was unable to do more than quietly protest, saying that it could



MAXIMILIAN OF MEXICO  
Photograph from life

not look "with indifference upon any armed European intervention for political ends in a country situated so near and connected with us so closely as Mexico." After the close of the war, however, Secretary Seward firmly informed the French Government that the United States earnestly desired to remain on friendly terms with France, but that

such relations "would be brought into imminent jeopardy unless France could deem it consistent with her interest and honor to desist from the prosecution of armed intervention in Mexico, to overthrow the domestic republican government existing there and to establish upon its ruins the foreign monarchy which had been attempted to be inaugurated in the capital of the country."<sup>27</sup> Napoleon could not mistake the animus and meaning of Seward's communication, especially

<sup>26</sup> Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 424.

<sup>27</sup> "Diplomatic Correspondence," for 1865, p. 490.





Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company

MAXIMILIAN GOING TO EXECUTION  
Painting by Jean Paul Laurens



when it became known that General Sheridan had been dispatched to Texas with a large force of Civil War veterans for purposes which were well understood. The French army was accordingly withdrawn, in February, 1867, leaving poor Maximilian, who had been made the dupe of the French emperor, to shift for himself. The Mexicans did not want him, and a few weeks later an army of Liberals under Juarez, which had been supplied with thirty thousand American muskets by order of General Sheridan,<sup>28</sup> captured and executed him, in June, 1867, under circumstances which called



PLACE OF EXECUTION OF MAXIMILIAN AT QUERÉTARO

forth general sympathy for the unfortunate Archduke. Thus a valuable lesson was taught the European nations. They were made to understand as they had never understood before that the Monroe Doctrine was not merely an empty declaration, but a living policy to be rigorously enforced at all times and under all circumstances, as occasion demanded—although it is a singular fact that the Monroe Doctrine, while constantly appealed to by the newspapers and politicians, seems never to have been mentioned in any official dispatch from the United States Government.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Sheridan's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 224.

<sup>29</sup> Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 441.

Another of Seward's diplomatic triumphs, often called his greatest service to his country, was his conclusion of a treaty with Russia for the cession of Alaska. As far back as Polk's administration the United States had offered the Russian government \$5,000,000 for the territory, but before an answer was given Polk had retired from the Presidency and the matter was dropped. Since the beginning of the century Alaska had been governed practically by the Russian-American Company, whose charter expired in 1861. On account of the monopolistic character of the company and its unsatisfactory treatment of the natives, the Russian Government hesitated to renew its privileges. To provide the territory with an organized colonial government meant the addition of a large expense to the Russian budget, for a country, moreover, which in case of war with the United States or Great Britain it would be impossible to defend. In view of these circumstances the Czar decided to part with Alaska if a fair price could be obtained. In February, 1867, his minister at Washington, Baron Stoeckel, offered it to the United States for \$10,000,000. Seward thought \$5,000,000 a reasonable price, but after a brief discussion they compromised on \$7,200,000. On the evening of March 27, 1867, while Seward was enjoying a game of whist, the Russian minister called to inform him of the receipt of a dispatch announcing the Czar's acceptance and suggested that the treaty be prepared and signed the next day. Seward replied: "Why wait till to-morrow, Mr. Stoeckel? Let us make the treaty to-night." The necessary clerks were called in, the treaty was drawn up and by four o'clock in the morning it was completed and ready to be laid before the Senate, which was done a few hours later, to the great surprise of every member except Sumner, who knew of what had taken place.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 477.

The treaty, however, did not meet with general popular favor. Although a vast area of 577,000 square miles had been acquired, it was popularly believed to be only a dreary, frozen region of polar bears and glaciers and inhabited only by savages. It seemed an utter waste of money to buy such an inhospitable country. But there was one consideration which probably turned the scales in favor of ratification; namely, the friendly attitude of Russia toward the United States during the Civil War. She refused Napoleon's proposition of intervention in 1862, and in the following year sent a fleet to America on a friendly visit—not to aid the United States in case of war with France or Great Britain, as is often asserted.<sup>31</sup>

It was largely out of gratitude to Russia, therefore, that her offer to sell Alaska was accepted, although Seward and Sumner fully appreciated its enormous strategic and economic value to the United States. The treaty was ratified with only two dissenting votes, and the House, after much opposition, made the appropriation. The purchase removed a possible source of dispute between the two countries, since it put an end to Russian dominion on the American continent. The price paid was then considered large, but in view of the valuable fisheries and furs, as well as the immense natural resources of the country subsequently discovered, there is no longer any doubt that it was an excellent bargain. The receipts of the government from the sealing industry of the Pribylov Islands alone have amounted to more than \$12,000,000.<sup>32</sup>

The purchase of Alaska was the beginning of a general but premature expansion movement which followed the Civil War. Indeed, Seward declared that he wished to see the Union extended from the Pole to the Tropics. Before Lin-

<sup>31</sup> Read O. W. Holmes poem, "Who was Our Friend when the World was Our Foe?"

<sup>32</sup> Foster, "Century of American Diplomacy," p. 410.



coln's death negotiations had been opened, and later a treaty was concluded with Denmark, for the cession of the Danish West India Island of St. Thomas for \$7,500,000; but the treaty, although approved by a plebiscite of the inhabitants and ratified by the Danish Riksdag, did not meet the approval of the Senate, partly on account of a sudden change of sentiment as to the value of the island as a naval station, caused by a destructive earthquake and hurricane on the island while the treaty was pending, and partly because of a feeling that no further acquisitions of foreign territory were desirable. After the rejection of the treaty the House adopted a resolution declaring that "in the present financial condition of the country any further purchases of territory are inexpedient, and this House will hold itself under no obligation to vote money to pay for any such purpose."<sup>33</sup> An effort was then made by President Grant to bring about the annexation of the Dominican Republic, the "African Republic" of the Ostend Manifesto, comprising the eastern portion of the Island of San Domingo, altogether about 28,000 square miles in area. The President took the greatest interest in the project and seemed unable to understand why anyone should oppose it. In May, 1869, he sent one of his private secretaries, General Babcock, in a man-of-war to San Domingo to inquire into the condition and resources of the island. In September Babcock, acting without instructions, concluded a treaty with one Baez for the annexation of the island, the United States to assume the Dominican debt of \$1,500,000. The President transmitted the treaty to the Senate, with a message setting forth the resources of the island in exaggerated terms, as was then thought, but which it is now believed were within the limits of reason. But the project aroused strong opposition in the Senate, partly on account of the belief among some of the Senators that the

<sup>33</sup> "Congressional Globe," 1867, p. 792.



negotiation had been tainted with corruption, and partly because the little negro republic, then as now a hot-bed of revolution, was not wanted. Besides, the manner of negotiation, doubt as to the authority of Baez, and the arbitrary use of the navy by Babcock added much to the opposition. The treaty accordingly failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate.

At the opening of the next session of Congress the President again recurred to the subject in his annual message and made an earnest plea for the ratification of the treaty, but the most that Congress would do was to provide for a commission to visit the island and inquire into its political condition and natural resources. As members of the commission the President appointed Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, Andrew D. White, of New York, and Samuel G. Howe, of Massachusetts, all men of high character and ability. They made an exhaustive investigation and reported that the President's claim that the island could supply the United States with all the sugar, coffee and other tropical products needed for its own consumption was well founded, and they recommended annexation. But the Senate took no action, and the President did not again press the matter, although he referred to the subject in his last annual message nearly six years after the project was first broached, and asserted that if his views in the matter had been followed the country would have been in a more prosperous condition.

An unfortunate incident of the controversy was a break between the President and Senator Sumner. Sumner was chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and led the fight against the treaty, although it had been chiefly through his powerful support that the Alaska treaty was ratified. For some reason he had conceived a strong dislike for Grant, and in the course of the debate delivered a severe attack upon the President, charging him with personal cor-

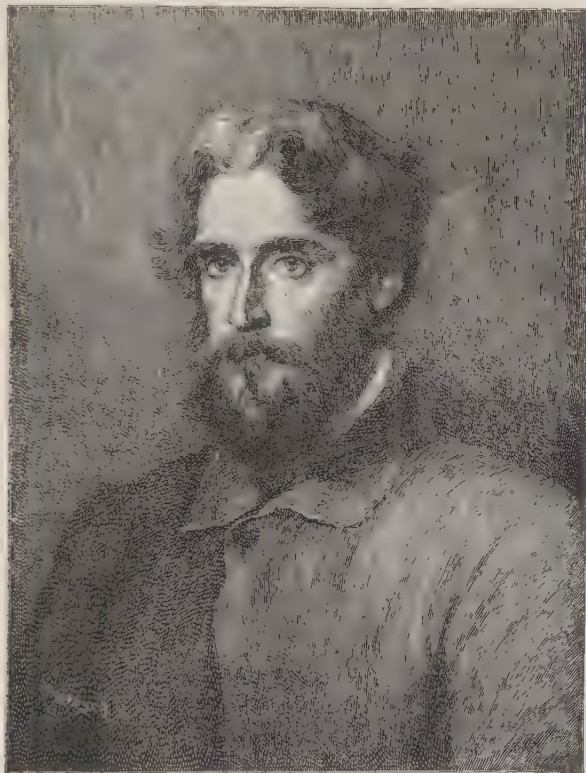
ruption—a charge which even Grant's own enemies rejected. The language of the speech was undignified, intemperate, and totally unworthy of the Massachusetts senator. After that the President never had any personal intercourse with him, and caused his removal from the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee.<sup>34</sup> In obeying the executive mandate to drop Sumner from his position many senators, says Blaine, committed an act against their conception of right and justice, as well as against what they believed to be sound public policy.<sup>35</sup> As a further punishment of the Massachusetts senator the President removed his intimate personal friend, Mr. Motley, from the position of minister to England.

But the chief diplomatic event of President Grant's administration was the amicable adjustment of the irritating dispute growing out of Great Britain's failure to observe strictly the rules of neutrality during the Civil War. Her chief offense had been in allowing vessels intended for the Confederate service to be built and fitted out in British shipyards. The most noted of these Confederate cruisers was the *Alabama*, built by Messrs. Laird and Sons, of Birkenhead. While the ship was in course of construction the United States minister to Great Britain, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, protested to the British Government that the vessel was being built for the Confederate service, and produced what he considered the necessary evidence to sustain his allegation. But the Crown lawyers uniformly advised Her Majesty's Government that a sufficient case against the vessel had not been made, for the terms of the British Foreign Enlistment Act were rather uncertain. This Act prohibited "the fitting out, equipping, and arming of vessels

<sup>34</sup> Storey, "Life of Charles Sumner," p. 396. Storey denies that Sumner entertained a personal dislike of Grant, but see Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 460.

<sup>35</sup> "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 461.

for warlike purposes," but did not, they asserted, prevent the building of a warship as one operation and the purchase of arms and munitions to equip such vessel when built, as another operation.<sup>36</sup> Mr. Adams demanded that the government detain the *Alabama*, but he was put off with excuses and



JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY  
Painting by G. F. Watts

delays until at last she escaped from British waters upon the pretense of making a trial trip and made her way to the Azores. Here she was met by two British vessels, which supplied her with the necessary armament and other equipment. Hoisting the Confederate flag in August, 1861, she

<sup>36</sup> C. F. Adams, Jr., "Life of C. F. Adams, Sr.," p. 307.

started out under the command of Raphael Semmes upon her wonderful career of destruction, creating consternation and terror wherever she went. Sweeping across the Atlantic and capturing over twenty United States vessels, she turned southward through the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies, passed along the coast of Brazil, thence sailed to the region of South Africa, and finally to Cherbourg, France, where, in the summer of 1864, after a sharp engagement, she was sunk by the *Kearsarge*. Altogether, the *Alabama* had de-



REAR ADMIRAL RAPHAEL SEMMES  
Captain of the "Alabama"  
Photograph from life

stroyed sixty vessels, aggregating ten million dollars' worth of property.<sup>37</sup> "It is clear," said Seward, in a dispatch to Adams, "that there will be no commerce left to the United States if the transaction of the '290' [the alias of the *Alabama*] is to be repeated without check and with impunity."<sup>38</sup> Among other vessels built in English shipyards and which played havoc with the American merchant marine were the *Shenandoah*, which

made thirty-six captures; the *Florida*, which made thirty-seven, and the *Tallahassee*, which made twenty-nine. A number of other Confederate commerce destroyers were built in British ports, only to be abandoned or wrecked soon after, though some were detained by the British authorities on evidence of their hostile character.

At the close of the war Mr. Adams laid before Earl Russell, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, a state-

<sup>37</sup> Bernard, "Neutrality of Great Britain," pp. 362-370.

<sup>38</sup> Bancroft, "Life of Seward," vol. ii. p. 386.





Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company

'THE SINKING OF THE CONFEDERATE PRIVATEER, "ALABAMA," BY THE "KEARSARGE," OFF THE HARBOR OF CHERBOURG, FRANCE  
Painting by J. O. Davidson





ment of the American losses occasioned by the depredations of the English built Confederate cruisers, and proposed that the claims of the United States be submitted to arbitration. This proposition Earl Russell met with a flat refusal, saying that the British Government disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of the Confederate cruisers and that it would neither make reparation nor permit the question to be referred to the arbitration of any foreign state.<sup>39</sup> Earl Russell was succeeded in the Foreign Office, in 1867, by Lord Stanley, who, although more kindly disposed toward the United States, would not consent to recognize the claims which as then presented were rather exaggerated.

In the following year Mr. Adams retired from the British mission and was succeeded by Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, a man eminent in law and in politics. Mr. Johnson speedily concluded a treaty in February, 1869, with Lord Clarendon, who had in the meantime succeeded Lord Stanley as Minister of Foreign Affairs; but the treaty proved to be very unsatisfactory on account of the extraordinary concessions which it made to Great Britain, and on account of the mode provided for the choice of umpire. It was, therefore, almost unanimously rejected by the Senate, and indignation was expressed by some members at the thought of acceptance. "It offered not one word of regret," said Senator Sumner, "or even of recognition," nor any "semblance of recognition," and was, in fact, only a convention for the settlement of private claims. "Nothing was said," he continued, "of the indignity to the nation, nor of the damages to the nation." In the meantime General Grant had become President, and in his annual message of December, 1869, he announced his entire disapproval of the treaty, and expressed the belief that in view of the unfavorable state of public opinion created by it, further attempts at

<sup>39</sup> Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i. p. 496.

negotiation had better be suspended until a returning sense of justice in the British Government would make it possible for the two nations to approach each other on more friendly terms.<sup>40</sup> Thus a year passed without any action. In his annual message of December, 1870, the President recommended that the government ascertain the amount of the various claims and assume their payment, so as to give them an international status; and to keep the question squarely before the British authorities in that light.

In the beginning of 1871 Great Britain sent Sir John Rose to the United States to ascertain whether negotiations looking toward the settlement of the question in dispute would be acceptable to the President. The United States Government received his advances with cordiality, and on January 26 Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, formally proposed the appointment of a Joint High Commission to meet at Washington for the purpose of devising means for settling the various matters at issue between the two countries—a proposition which was readily accepted by the American Government. The President appointed as commissioners on the part of the United States Hamilton Fish, Ebenezer R. Hoar, Justice Samuel Nelson, Robert C. Schenck, and George H. Williams. The British Government selected as its commissioners Earl of Grey and Marquis of Ripon, Sir John MacDonald, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, and Montague Bernard. The Joint Commission entered at once upon its task, and on May 8 concluded an agreement which received the prompt approval of the two governments, and which is known as the Treaty of Washington. In addition to the settlement of the dispute growing out of the *Alabama* claims, provision was made for the adjustment of the differences with regard to the Northeastern fisheries by the appointment

<sup>40</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. vii. p. 34.

of a mixed commission to meet at Halifax, pass upon the relative value of the reciprocal privileges granted each of the contracting parties in the treaty of 1854, and award Great Britain a sum of money equal to the difference. Finally, provision was made submitting to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany the dispute concerning the Northwest boundary. The treaty also expressed "the regret felt by Her Majesty's government for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels . . . and for the depredations committed by them."

For the settlement of the *Alabama* claims provision was made for an international court of arbitration to consist of five members to meet at Geneva, Switzerland. The arguments of both parties were to be delivered not later than six months after the exchange of ratifications, and the decision of the tribunal was to follow, if possible, within three months from the close of the arguments on both sides. In case the tribunal should find that Great Britain had failed to fulfill any of her neutral duties it might, if it should think proper, proceed to award a sum in gross to be paid by Great Britain to the United States for all claims referred to it, which amount was to be paid in coin within twelve months after the date of the award. Of the five arbitrators one was to be appointed by each of the governments concerned, one by the King of Italy, one by the Emperor of Brazil, and one by the President of the Swiss Republic. The rules agreed upon by the contracting parties for the guidance of the tribunal in the interpretation of certain terms used in the treaty, and of certain principles of international law governing the obligations of neutrals were: "(1) A neutral government is bound, first, to use diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is

at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use; (2) not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies of arms, or the recruitment of men; (3) to exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties." The agreement on the part of Great Britain to these rules was qualified by the declaration that "Her Majesty's Government cannot assent to the foregoing rules as a statement of principles of international law which were in force at the time when the claims mentioned arose, but in order to evince its desire of strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries, and of making satisfactory provision for the future, agrees that the arbitrators should assume that the British Government had undertaken to act on the principles set forth in the rules."

The arbitrators appointed were Charles Francis Adams, on the part of the United States, Sir Alexander Cockburn, on the part of the British Government, Count Sclopis, a distinguished Italian jurist and man of letters, appointed by the King of Italy, Count d'Itajuba, by the Emperor of Brazil, and Mr. Jacob Stämpfli, by the President of Switzerland. An imposing array of eminent counsel was appointed by each side to conduct its case before the tribunal, those for the United States being Mr. William M. Evarts, Mr. Caleb Cushing, and Mr. Morrison R. Waite, afterward Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. On December 15, 1871, the tribunal organized by the election of Count Sclopis as president, and began its long sit-



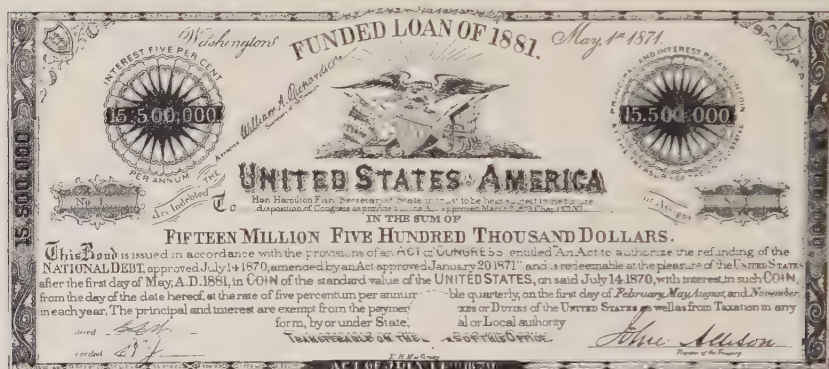
tings. After receiving the printed cases of each side and ordering the filing of the counter cases on or before April 15, the tribunal adjourned to June 15. The aggregate of claims for direct damages amounted to \$26,101,907.<sup>41</sup> The American case also included claims for the *indirect* damages caused by the Confederate privateers, such as the increase in rates of insurance, the national expenditures incurred in fitting out vessels in pursuit of Confederate cruisers, the transfer of American shipping to the British flag, and the prolongation of the war. No estimate of the indirect damages was submitted, but the amount ran far into the millions. But a storm of opposition arose in England, and the British Government finally announced that such damages should not be included in the claims submitted to the tribunal. But the American Secretary of State insisted with equal firmness that they should be, and for a time it looked as if all the efforts to settle the differences would end in failure and the two governments would be thrown back into the position occupied before the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington. At this juncture, however, the tribunal settled the matter by deciding against the American contention as one not well founded in international law. The government of the United States accepted the ruling, and the tribunal proceeded with its work, which was completed early in September. The case of each of the English built Confederate cruisers was disposed of separately, the tribunal deciding in each case that the British Government had not acted with "due diligence" as defined in the Treaty of Washington, and condemning Great Britain to pay to the government of the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold.<sup>42</sup> With regard to the *Alabama* the tribunal declared that Great Britain had omitted, notwithstanding the warnings and

<sup>41</sup> Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i. p. 590.

<sup>42</sup> See Moore, "International Arbitrations," pp. 653-659, for the text of the award.

official representations of the diplomatic agents of the United States, to take in due time effective measures of prevention, and that the orders which it did give were issued so late that their execution was not practicable. The British arbitrator protested with ill grace, and refused to sign the award. Altogether the decision met with general disapproval throughout England, but in due time the amount was paid and the long standing controversy ended.

The dispute with regard to the boundary between the United States and British Columbia was decided by the Ger-



FACSIMILE OF THE BOND OF FUNDED LOAN REPRESENTING THE AWARD OF THE "ALABAMA" CLAIMS

man Emperor in October of the same year (1872), the award sustaining the claim of the United States.<sup>43</sup> In the fisheries dispute the contention of the British Government was that the rights and privileges granted by Great Britain to the people of the United States by the reciprocity treaty of 1854 were more valuable than those granted by the United States to the people of Canada, and that a specified sum should be paid to the government of Great Britain as an offset. By the Treaty of Washington it was agreed, as already stated, that the British contention should be referred

<sup>43</sup> Moore, International Treaties," p. 230.



to a commission of three persons, one appointed by each of the two governments concerned, while the third was to be selected conjointly. The first two commissioners were promptly selected, but, unable to agree upon a third, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador was referred to, as the agreement provided, and named Mr. Delfosse, Belgian minister at Washington, and the very man to whom the United States had objected on account of the close relations between Belgium and Great Britain. Our government felt great surprise, but promptly accepted Mr. Delfosse and congratulated him on his appointment. The commission finally met at Halifax in 1877, and made its award in November of the same year, nearly seven years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington. By a vote of two to one, Great Britain was awarded the sum of \$5,500,000 in gold.<sup>44</sup> The American commissioner protested, and the feeling was strong throughout the country that the amount of the award was out of all proportion to what it should be. The government protested, but finally paid the amount into the British treasury, and a little later gave notice of its intention to renounce the treaty.

Our relations with Spain during Grant's administration were greatly strained, and for a time war between the two countries seemed imminent. In 1868 the 'Ten Years' Insurrection of Cuba against Spain broke out, and the barbarous methods by which the Spanish Government undertook to suppress the insurrection elicited general sympathy in the United States for the struggling Cubans. In the summer of 1869 the President prepared a proclamation according the rights of belligerency to the Cubans, but on account of the earnest protest of Secretary Fish against this course the proclamation was never issued. Nevertheless, the United States remonstrated against the inhuman Spanish methods in Cuba,

<sup>44</sup> Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i. p. 745.

a fact which caused great irritation in Spain. The American legation building at Madrid was threatened, American vessels were seized and searched in an offensive manner, and American citizens were maltreated and even murdered.

All this was exasperating enough, but matters were brought to a climax by the affair of the *Virginius*, which occurred in October, 1873. The *Virginius* was an American merchant vessel, and while en route from Jamaica to Costa Rica, October, 30, 1873, she was captured by a Spanish man-of-war at a point about sixty miles from the coast of Cuba. She was boarded by a Spanish officer and the crew and passengers were made prisoners, sent to Santiago, speedily tried by a court-martial, and fifty-four of them, including a number of British subjects and American citizens, were put to death. The character of the *Virginius* was questionable, and the seizure may have been justifiable, but the summary execution of those on board upon conviction by a drum-head court-martial was unwarrantable, and the United States protested. The news of the affair caused great excitement, and indignation meetings were held in many places. The government prepared for war, and the American minister at Madrid was instructed to demand reparation, and if it was not given within twelve hours he was to close the legation and leave Madrid. But happily war was averted. Spain agreed to restore the *Virginius*, surrender the survivors and salute the American flag on Christmas Day following. In the meantime, it having been made to appear to the satisfaction of the United States that the *Virginius* was not entitled to carry the American flag, the salute was dispensed with.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Davis, "International Law," p. 491.

## Chapter XXXVII

### GRANT'S SECOND TERM. 1873-1877

#### I

##### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1872

**M**EANWHILE the time for another presidential election had come around with its usual political turmoil and disturbance to business. General Grant's administration had given much dissatisfaction to some Republican leaders, and it was the subject of widespread popular criticism, irrespective of party. He had filled many of the offices with his personal friends and relatives without consulting either Cabinet or leaders, and quite a number of his appointees turned out to be rascals. He was himself strictly honest and had good intentions, but seems to have committed the blunder of supposing that all men were like himself in this respect.<sup>1</sup> It was found easy to impose upon him, and some of the unscrupulous politicians took advantage of his good nature to gain his ear, only to abuse the trust which he reposed in them. The result was scandalous demoralization and much corruption in high circles at Washington almost unprecedented in the history of the government. "The Civil Service had become," declared the Liberal Republican convention at Cincinnati, "a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, . . . a scandal and a reproach to free institutions."<sup>2</sup> Aside from political scandals a great many of the more conserva-

<sup>1</sup> Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 343.

tive and liberal-minded Republicans were disgusted with the President's Southern policy. The "carpet-bag" governments, with their carnival of misrule and plunder, had caused many of the better Republicans to blush with shame and feel that a great wrong had been committed, not only to the people of the South, but to the entire country. They refused to endorse further such a policy or to support those who were responsible for it. Among those who thus broke away from the ranks of the regular Republicans and formed the "liberal movement" were Horace Greeley, Charles Francis Adams, son of President John Quincy Adams, Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and his colleague, David Davis; Carl Schurz, senator from Missouri, an able man of German birth; Stanley Mathews, George W. Julian, Horace White, David A. Wells, Cassius M. Clay, George William Curtis, John G. Whittier, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Alexander Kelly McClure, and many others. They were supported by some of the most influential newspapers of the country, such as the *New York Tribune*, *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Cincinnati Commercial*. Senator Sumner, in a speech in the Senate on May 31, 1873, entitled "Republicanism v. Grantism," asserted that the party had become the "instrument of one man and his personal will. . . . Not only," he said, "are the Constitution and the law disregarded, but the presidential office itself is treated as little more than a plaything and a perquisite."<sup>3</sup>

The Liberal Republican movement had its beginning in Missouri, where, under the leadership of Carl Schurz and B. Gratz Brown, a section of the Republican party disgusted with the proscriptive policy which had been pursued against the ex-Confederates of that State, broke away from their party, joined with the Democrats, and carried the

<sup>3</sup>Storey, "Life of Sumner," p. 413.

State on a platform favoring a removal of the disabilities of ex-Confederates. In response to a call issued by the Liberal Republican convention of Missouri, a national mass convention of Liberal Republicans was held at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872. The convention was largely attended and contained among its delegates some of the ablest leaders of the Republican party, representing every shade of opinion, but all united in their opposition to "Grantism." A platform was adopted demanding the removal at once of all the political disabilities of ex-Confederates, the cessation of military rule in the South, the supremacy of civil over military power, the reform of the civil service, and, as a fling at Grant, declared that no President should be eligible to succeed himself. The platform charged that the administration had wantonly disregarded the laws, that the President had prostituted his high office for personal ends, that he had kept "notoriously corrupt and unworthy" men in office, that he had interfered in local affairs with "tyrannical arrogance," and that he was "culpably careless" and "deplorably unequal" to the task imposed upon him by the necessities of the country. Not being able to agree upon a tariff plank, no declaration was made on this subject, and so the party went before the country uncommitted. The coöperation of all patriotic citizens, irrespective of previous political affiliations, was invoked for the success of the principles thus set forth.

A more difficult task than framing a platform was the nomination of a candidate to run against Grant. Charles Francis Adams seemed to be the first choice. Like his father, he was a trained statesman and a finished scholar, and had rendered distinguished diplomatic service; but like his father, also, he lacked tact and was deficient in the personal qualities of a successful politician or a manager of men. Just before the meeting of the convention he wrote a letter to David A. Wells expressing indifference with regard to the



nomination and saying that if he was expected to make certain pledges they might "take him out of that crowd."<sup>4</sup> His characterization of the convention as a "crowd" was resented, and he was dropped. David Davis, of Illinois, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, was also a prominent candidate, but the Eastern delegates developed a hostility to him, and he, too, was likewise dropped. After balloting for a while for Senator Trumbull and Horace Greeley, the convention finally nominated Mr. Greeley for President and, with him, B. Gratz Brown for Vice President.

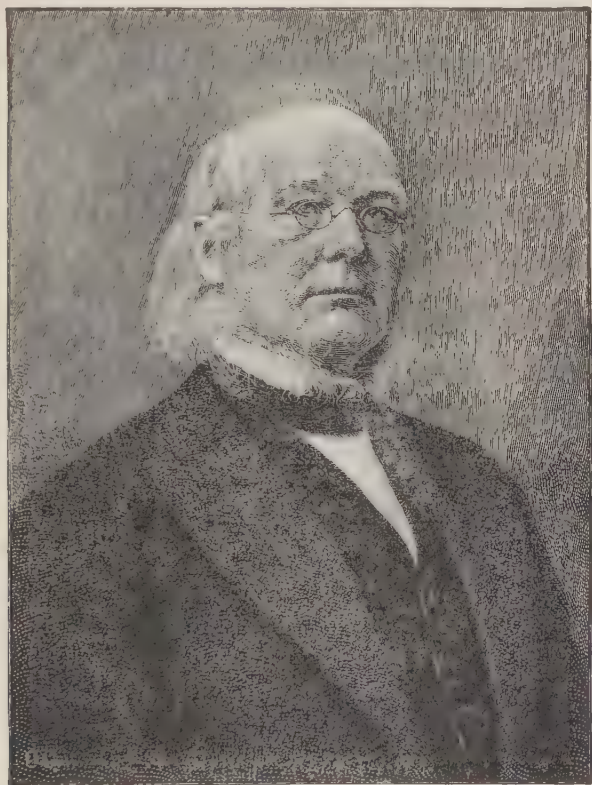
Horace Greeley was known far and wide as the brilliant but eccentric editor of the *New York Tribune*, the most influential Republican newspaper, perhaps, in the country. Of humble birth, he left his father's farm in Vermont in early life and went to Erie, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in the printer's trade. From there, after a short stay, he moved to New York city, journeying partly on foot and partly by canal boat, reaching the metropolis in August, 1831, with scarcely a dollar in his pocket. Again he engaged in the printing business at six dollars a week. Saving up a little money he founded the *Tribune* in 1841, which rapidly grew in influence, until it came to be read by nearly every Republican and Whig in the country. Greeley soon became a powerful writer, and one of the leaders of the Republican party; but with a style almost vitriolic, he made enemies, and consequently never won the political recognition to which his eminent talents entitled him. As a polemic writer, with the faculty of lucid statement and forceful reasoning, he was easily the ablest editor that the country had ever produced.

On July 9 the Democratic national convention met at Baltimore, nominated Greeley and Brown, and adopted the

<sup>4</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 340.



Liberal Republican platform, showing thereby that indifference to their party, their convictions, and their traditions, which has been their chief stumbling block for the past thirty years. Ever since he entered political life Mr. Greeley had been the relentless and implacable foe of the Democratic



HORACE GREELEY  
Photograph from life

party, and now they had nominated him for the Presidency. The very prince of protectionists, he had consistently assailed free trade doctrines with all the power with which he was so abundantly endowed. But he was opposed to Grant, and had won the sympathy of the Southern Democrats by stepping forward and signing the bail bond of Jefferson

Davis,<sup>5</sup> and by his earnest advocacy of universal amnesty. Greeley was accepted by the Democrats simply because they realized the impossibility of contending successfully against Grant with a real Democrat, and they wanted first of all to beat the Republicans and gain office on any terms. It was, in truth, a case of "anything to beat Grant."

On June 5 the national Republican convention assembled at Philadelphia and renominated, amid great enthusiasm, General Grant for President without a dissenting voice, and with him Henry Wilson, one of the Massachusetts senators, for Vice President. Wilson, like Lincoln and Johnson, was of humble origin, and early in life followed the occupation of a shoemaker, but by force of character and native ability he rose to be a United States Senator in a State which has always been distinguished for the high character of the men it sends to the upper house of Congress. The platform adopted by the Republicans was devoted largely to glorification of Republican policies and achievements. It declared that the party had "accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time," that it had "suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four million slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, established universal suffrage, and exhibited unparalleled magnanimity to rebels." Nothing was said in eulogy of the administration, but a reform of the civil service laws was recommended, "which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions."<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the campaign the regular Republicans argued that the election of Greeley would mean the restoration of the Democrats to power and the consequent loss of many of the fruits of the war, an argument which undoubtedly

<sup>5</sup> At the close of the war Mr. Davis was captured in Georgia and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe for about two years, where he was held on the charge of treason against the United States. He was finally released on bail, but was never put on trial.

<sup>6</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 347.

had great weight in the campaign. Mr. Greeley personally took the stump and undertook to stem the tide which the September elections showed to be setting in against him. His speeches were able, earnest, and were delivered to large and responsive audiences throughout Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Ohio. But they were not convincing to the majority of the voters, and Grant swept the country as no candidate had done since Monroe's unopposed election in 1820. He carried every Northern State, and all but six in the South. In the Southern States the Greeley nomination was too bitter for the old-time Democrats to swallow, and they stayed away from the polls and allowed the election to go by default. Many Northern Democrats did likewise. At the same time many timid Republicans of the liberal way of thinking were alarmed at their own hardihood, and unwilling to come under the Democratic wing, re-considered in time and cast their votes for Grant.

Mr. Greeley's defeat had a melancholy termination. He was one of the most ambitious of men politically, and he eagerly hoped for success. He was not unprepared for defeat, but the greatness of it was more than he expected and more than he could bear. Only the day before the election he had followed the body of his wife—the faithful companion of his long struggles—to the grave. Heart-broken with bereavement, sorely disappointed at the result of the election, his vigorous constitution shattered by the strain of years of incessant labor, his mind gave way, and he had to be carried to an insane asylum, where, in a few weeks, his great career came to an end. The people of all sections, and of all parties, forgot the political antagonisms and estrangements of the past, and remembering only his magnanimity, his purity of heart, his intellectual greatness, and his noble impulses, united in honoring the memory of one of the Republic's most remarkable men.

## II

THE INAUGURATION; FRAUDS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE;  
FINANCIAL PANIC OF 1873

President Grant was inaugurated for a second time on March 4, 1873—an occasion long remembered by those present for the severity of the cold and dreariness of the day. The President pronounced a brief inaugural address, in which he referred to the circumstances under which he had been called into public life, alluded to the criticism directed against him, and declared that he looked forward with the greatest pleasure to the time when he should be released from the cares and responsibilities of public office. "I have," he said, "been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history." but in view of the result of the election, such criticism, he felt, might be disregarded.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, however, his second administration was to be characterized by even greater political demoralization and corruption than the first. Scandal, fraud, and extravagance seemed to permeate all the departments of the government. This condition, his friends alleged, was the necessary consequent of such a convulsion as the Civil War; while Grant, with his purely military training and habits, was not the man to understand or resist the evil forces.

One of the most extensive series of frauds was discovered in the Treasury Department. A number of officials in the internal revenue service had been bribed by the manufacturers of whisky to secure immunity from the payment of the high tax on spirits, as a result of which the government was thus defrauded of about \$4,000,000 of revenue. The "Whisky Ring," as the conspiracy was called, had its headquarters at St. Louis, and branches at Milwaukee, Peoria,

<sup>7</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. vii. p. 223.



Chicago, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. Through the vigorous efforts of Mr. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, the frauds were discovered, but with difficulty on account of the perfect organization and ingenious methods of the "ring." About \$3,500,000 of distillery property was seized, and 238 persons were indicted, including distillers, collectors, revenue agents, supervisors, gaugers, storekeepers, and others, the President's position being tersely stated in his directions to the prosecuting officers to "let no guilty man escape." Among those indicted was General Orville E. Babcock, the President's private secretary and "aide de camp," who had negotiated the treaty with San Domingo; but he was acquitted. A few of the conspirators were also convicted, but were shortly afterward pardoned.<sup>8</sup> In March, 1876, a committee of the House conducted an exhaustive investigation of the subject and made a report giving startling revelations of the disgraceful condition of the civil service at the time.

The management of the Post Office and Interior Departments was also marked by scandals, but of less extent than those in the Treasury Department. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was found to have had its ring of contractors, who exploited the government and defrauded the Indians of the supplies to which they were entitled by treaty, causing great discontent among them and ultimately leading to outbreaks. The Secretary of War, William Worth Belknap, was charged with accepting a bribe for making an appointment to the position of post trader in the Indian Territory, and investigation showed that he had received thousands of dollars in the form of bribes for other appointments, and for awarding contracts. He was speedily impeached by the House of Representatives, but before the Senate could reach his case he resigned to escape conviction. The President was

<sup>8</sup> See article, "Whisky Ring," in "Lalor's Encyclopædia of Political Science," vol. iii. pp. 1112-1113.

widely and deservedly criticised for accepting the resignation, thus preventing the Senate from going on with the trial.

Members of Congress themselves did not escape from the taint of corruption during a time when corruption seemed to be everywhere. The most widely known instance arose in connection with the notorious *Credit Mobilier*—a corporation organized under the laws of Pennsylvania in 1865 to construct the Union Pacific Railroad from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean.<sup>9</sup> The promoters of the scheme, desiring favorable legislation for the road, placed stock in the hands of influential members of Congress, “where,” as one of them remarked, “it would do the most good.” The fact soon became known, and the *New York Sun*, of September 4, 1872, published the story under the headlines: “*The King of Frauds! How the Credit Mobilier Bought Its Way Through Congress!*” This journal asserted that 30,000 shares of stock, worth \$9,000,000, had been distributed as bribes among members of Congress, and these charges were widely circulated during the election campaign of 1872.

Congress investigated the charges, through a committee under the chairmanship of Luke P. Poland, of Vermont, found them to be partly true, and strongly censured two of its members, Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts and James Brooks, of New York.<sup>10</sup> The whole affair was probably the most extensive legislative scandal ever known in the United States.<sup>11</sup> But some of those involved were innocent, while others, who had accepted stock, were not guilty of the criminal motives imputed to them by a clamorous public. The popular disgust with Congress was further increased by an Act passed in 1873, raising the salaries of members from \$5,000 per year to \$7,500, and making the law retro-

<sup>9</sup> See Hoar, “Autobiography of Seventy Years,” vol. i. pp. 314-324.

<sup>10</sup> “Appleton’s Annual Cyclopædia,” 1872, pp. 213, 671.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander Johnston, in “Lalor’s Encyclopædia,” vol. i. p. 709.



active for more than a year. There was not so much objection to the increase of salary in view of the general financial condition of the country, and the great increase in the cost of living, but the retroactive feature of the law was furiously attacked and denounced as the "back salary grab." It was as if the members had voted themselves a gratuity of several thousand dollars apiece. The measure created such a storm of indignation throughout the country that some of the more timid members refused to accept the increase, while others who had done so, fearing the displeasure of their constituents, returned the extra amount to the treasury. The popular clamor was so great that the same Congress which passed the Act repealed it. All of these things made excellent Democratic capital in the congressional election campaign of 1874, and to this stock of capital was added a widespread financial panic in 1873.

For several years a wave of speculation and extravagance had swept over the country. Thousands of miles of railroad had been constructed in regions where railroads were hardly needed. Business enterprises of every character had been established, frequently on borrowed capital, an extraordinary inflation of prices had occurred and over-issues of money had followed. The panic began by the failure of the great banking house of Jay Cooke & Co. of Philadelphia, on September 18, 1873.<sup>12</sup> In the short space of one month thousands of commercial establishments were prostrated, the

<sup>12</sup> In September, 1869, occurred the great gold conspiracy in New York, which was an attempt of Jay Gould, James Fisk, and one Corbin, a brother-in-law of the President, to corner the supply of gold. To further their project they gained the ear of the President, and persuaded him to promise to issue an order suspending the customary sale of \$1,000,000 worth of gold per month. They then proceeded to buy all the gold in sight, causing pandemonium in the money market, which culminated in a day long remembered as Black Friday. But unfortunately for them, Grant was convinced of his error, and was induced to order the sale of \$5,000,000, which had the effect of breaking the conspiracy and ruining the conspirators. The derangement of the money market, however, was but temporary.

wages of hundreds of thousands of workmen were cut off, stock exchanges, trust companies, and banking concerns were overthrown, the government was compelled to curtail its customary payments of the public debt, and general financial distress prevailed throughout the entire country.<sup>13</sup>

The Democrats, of course, in accordance with the customary practice of political parties, charged this to the administration in power, and, with the frauds which had been unearthed in the government service, went before the people in the congressional elections of 1874 and swept the country. The old Republican State of Ohio now elected a Democratic governor. New York elected as governor Samuel J. Tilden, who had won distinction by the prosecution of the notorious "Tweed Ring" in the metropolis. The Republican majority of nearly a hundred in the House of Representatives was now turned to a Democratic majority almost as great, and James G. Blaine, who had been Speaker for the past six years, was replaced by Michael Kerr, of Indiana, a Democrat. For the first time since 1860 the Democrats were in a position where they were able to control to some extent the policy of the government.

### III

#### RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS; REFUNDING OF THE NATIONAL DEBT; THE GREENBACK MOVEMENT LEGAL TENDER DECISIONS

Of far-reaching importance also during Grant's administration was the legislation concerning the national finances—the one thing above all others that stands out to the credit of the Republican party during the troublous years which followed the war. Toward the end of the

<sup>13</sup> "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1873, p. 279.

war, and for several years thereafter, the country was especially fortunate in having two singularly strong men in control of the national finances. These were Salmon P. Chase and Hugh McCulloch. The national debt at the close of the war was, as has been said, about \$2,800,000,000. The management of this debt was one of the herculean tasks of the Secretary of the Treasury, and McCulloch, who became Secretary in 1865, discharged this duty with distinguished ability. Beginning in 1866, he retired \$66,000,000 of the "greenbacks" from circulation, when Congress, yielding to the popular clamor, particularly in the West, directed that no more should be withdrawn.<sup>14</sup> Through McCulloch's skillful management the national debt had been reduced by more than \$200,000,000 before he retired from office in 1869, and the public confidence had been greatly restored.

The faith of the people in the promises of the government were still further strengthened the same year by a resolution of Congress announcing that at the earliest practicable moment the government would resume specie payments—that is, it would pay in coin or its equivalent all obligations except where expressly stipulated in the issue that they might be paid in legal tender notes. It was in truth a creditable stand for national honesty, and a declaration of war against repudiation and financial dishonesty. The Democratic party, however, protested against resumption on the ground that payment in coin would contract the volume of currency and entail unnecessary hardships upon the people. They attributed the financial stringency of 1873 mainly to the promise of resumption, and demanded the abandonment of that policy.<sup>15</sup>

In July, 1870, Congress passed an Act, which was sup-

<sup>14</sup> Bolles, "Financial History of the United States," vol. iii. p. 280.

<sup>15</sup> John Sherman, "Recollections of Forty Years," vol. i. p. 521.

plemented by another in January, 1871, for refunding the national debt in bonds bearing five, four and one-half and four per cent. interest. These Acts authorized the issue of \$500,000,000 of bonds at five per cent., redeemable after ten years, \$300,000,000 at four and one-half per cent., redeemable after fifteen years, and \$100,000,000, at four per cent., redeemable after thirty years. These bonds were all exempted from taxation, and were made payable in coin. By thus refunding the bonds of the government at a lower rate of interest than they were then paying, an annual saving of several millions of dollars in interest was insured. By the Act of July, 1870, the income tax was repealed, to take effect January 1, 1872, and the duties on tea, coffee, sugar and certain iron and steel products were lowered, thus greatly reducing the revenues of the government. By separate Acts passed in the summer of 1872 various internal taxes were removed, the duties on tea and coffee were entirely repealed, and the tariff on various imported articles was reduced ten per cent.

In February, 1873, the Republican Congress passed another financial measure, the merits of which have until this day been a mooted question. This was the Act for the demonetization of silver, the "Crime of '73," as its enemies dubbed it. It enacted that the old silver dollar of 412½ grains should be dropped from the list of coins. This "discrimination" against silver was followed by a great fall in the price of silver bullion and created much dissatisfaction, particularly in the West. The cry was soon raised for the restoration of the "dollar of our daddies," and in a few years Congress yielded and restored it to its old place in the monetary system.

One of the results of the business depression of 1873 was the creation of a widespread demand for the inflation of the currency. Under such conditions there is always a large

class of people who believe that the proper remedy for all economic and financial ills is more money—fiat money, if necessary. At the time of which we are now writing this belief was not confined to the ranks of the Democratic party; a large and respectable portion of the Republican party, in fact, felt that the demands of the country required an increase of the volume of currency. Early in 1874 Congress passed an Act for this purpose, providing for the increase of the national currency to the extent of about \$100,000,000. The President, who had led his friends in Congress to believe that he favored such a measure, promptly vetoed it, having apparently been persuaded of his error.

Finally, before surrendering the House of Representatives to the Democrats, Congress passed, in January, 1875, the celebrated Resumption Act, for the resumption of specie payments—one of the most far-reaching financial measures ever enacted by the Congress of the United States. Its chief provision was that which declared that after January 1, 1879, all the paper obligations of the United States should be redeemed in specie. All the Democrats of both houses voted against it, and some twenty Republicans voted with them.<sup>16</sup> President Grant approved the measure after suggesting certain additional legislation to make it more effective. Thus Congress fulfilled its solemn pledge of 1869, and just ten years after the close of the war it was announced that the strength of the Republic was such that the government would in four years begin to redeem in coin the enormous volume of paper obligations issued to carry on the war. It was a striking tribute to the wise management of the national finances since the war, as well as to the prosperity and unwavering honesty of the people.

The Supreme Court was also called upon to contribute

<sup>16</sup> Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 563.



its share in the financial readjustments of the period. As stated in a previous chapter, the Act of 1862, giving the legal tender character to the treasury notes issued by the government was strongly opposed, both on constitutional grounds and for reasons of expediency. After the war the question was taken to the courts in order to test the validity of the law, and in 1869 the Supreme Court decided by a vote of five to three that Congress had exceeded its constitutional authority in passing the Act.<sup>17</sup> Curiously enough, the opinion was given by Chief Justice Chase, who, as Secretary of the Treasury, had issued the legal tender notes. He asserted that he had never favored giving the legal tender quality to paper currency, and the majority of the justices concurred with him in the view that not only had Congress no power to make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender, but it was unnecessary since the circulation of the notes was assured by making them receivable for all national taxes and dues to the government.

The decision was a great disappointment to the government, but the disappointment was short lived. One of the justices who pronounced against the validity of the legal tender Act died soon afterward, and Congress created an additional justiceship, thus making two vacancies on the Supreme bench. President Grant thereupon appointed two justices who were favorable to the Legal Tender Act, the case was reconsidered, and the decision reversed by a vote of five to four in 1872, the Court holding that the making of the treasury notes a legal tender in the payment of debts was an appropriate means of prosecuting the war, and was not expressly prohibited by the Constitution.<sup>18</sup> "The time and

<sup>17</sup> *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, 7 *Howe*, p. 700.

<sup>18</sup> *The Legal Tender Cases*, 12 *Howe*, p. 457. The charge was made that the President had "packed" the court purposely to secure a reversal of the decision, but there seems to be no evidence that he knew the views of either appointee beforehand. See Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 286.

the circumstances under which they were issued," said the Court, "must be taken into consideration." A great civil war was waging, and the existence of the government was threatened, large armies and navies had to be supported, the treasury was empty, the credit of the government was exhausted, banks had suspended specie payments, taxation was insufficient, the army was unpaid, and the expenses of the war exceeded one million dollars per day. Congress was called upon to meet these emergencies, and it had a choice of means to meet so legitimate an end. All it did, said the Court, was to enact that the promises of the government to pay should for the time being be treated as equivalent in value to the representatives of value determined by the coinage Acts. Finally, in 1884, the Court went further and declared that not only could Congress create a legal tender currency as a war measure, but it could do so in time of peace as well.<sup>19</sup>

#### IV

##### INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS; THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION; INDIAN TROUBLES IN THE WEST

The eight years of President Grant's administration were years of recuperation and industrial progress. One of the notable events of the time was the completion in the first year of his term of the first transcontinental railway to the Pacific Ocean. The discovery of gold in Colorado and Montana had caused a movement of immigration to the Rocky Mountain region, and the rapid development of the Pacific Coast had created a demand for railway communication with the East. Moreover, the Civil War had shown the strategic value of having all parts of the Republic bound together by railroads. Yet the cost of building a rail-

<sup>19</sup> Julliard vs. Greenman, 110 U. S. Reports, p. 421.

road across this vast and sparsely settled country, covered with high mountain barriers, was so enormous that private capital could not be tempted to make the venture. But the benefit of such a road to the country as a whole appeared to be so unquestioned that the government was induced to aid in the work. Two companies were organized, the Central Pacific to build the line eastward from the Pacific Coast, and the Union Pacific to build from Omaha westward, and their bonds were guaranteed by the government. As an additional inducement they were given every alternate section of land on both sides of the road, aggregating many millions of acres, which the railroad companies were able to sell at good prices. Starting in 1862, the two roads met at a point near Ogden, Utah, in 1869, and the last spike was driven with impressive ceremonies. At last the far-off Pacific region was firmly united with the East, and its industrial development now bounded forward with rapid strides.

But in this period of progress set-backs occurred, and two of the largest cities of the country, Chicago and Boston, were each devastated by terrible fires, the former in October, 1871, the latter in November, 1872. The population of Chicago at the time of the fire was about 300,000, and it stood fifth among the great cities of the country. The fire began on Sunday evening, October 8, and continued in spite of all efforts to check it until the following Tuesday morning. It swept from street to street, devouring massive stone blocks as if they were cardboard boxes. The detonations, the falling of walls, the roar and crackle of the flames, the excitement of the people, and the light of the burning buildings presented a grand but awful spectacle. The total area covered was 2,124 acres; 17,450 structures were burned; nearly 100,000 persons were rendered homeless, 250 persons lost their lives, and about \$290,000,000 worth of property

was destroyed.<sup>20</sup> It was the most disastrous fire in the history of the country, and more than fourscore insurance companies were made bankrupt. From all over the country contributions for the relief of the stricken city poured in, and within a month three and a half million dollars had been received. The enterprising people of the city were sorely tried, but the burning embers had barely cooled before they began the work of reconstruction, and carried it forward on a scale, and with a determination, which won the admiration of the entire country.

The Boston fire began on Saturday evening, November 9, and was not checked until the following Monday. Sixty-five acres of buildings were laid waste, comprising the business district and including many of the finest blocks in the city. Some eight hundred buildings were destroyed, and the total loss amounted to about \$80,000,000.

In the final year of Grant's administration, the centennial of American independence, a great exposition was held at Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Republic. Not only the United States, but, in jubilee with them, the leading nations of the world assembled their varied products of agriculture, science, commerce, manufacturing, and the other industrial and mechanical arts. The exhibition was a splendid proof of the industrial progress of the country during the first one hundred years of its existence as an independent nation, and it was especially fitting that it should have been held in Philadelphia, the "Home of Independence," and a city famous for its historic places. The government of the United States lent its aid to the extent of two million dollars, the city of Philadelphia appropriated one and a half million dollars, and the State of Pennsylvania one million, while forty-three foreign nations accepted invitations to participate in the exhibition.<sup>21</sup> The Exposition was held in the

<sup>20</sup> "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1871, p. 394.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 1876, p. 263.



beautiful Fairmount Park on the banks of the Schuylkill. Five mammoth structures, the Main Building, Machinery Hall, Agricultural Hall, Horticultural Hall and Memorial Hall, the latter a beautiful granite building costing \$1,500,000, and intended to be permanent, together with numerous smaller buildings covering altogether about two hundred acres, were erected. The gates of the Exposition were opened on May 10 with impressive ceremonies and in the presence of one hundred thousand spectators, including President Grant and the Emperor of Brazil. Wagner composed a special march, a thousand voices sang Whittier's noble Centennial hymn, Lanier, the Georgia poet, read his "Centennial Ode," and Richard Henry Lee, whose grandfather moved the Declaration of Independence in the Continental Congress, read the declaration from the original copy amid the prolonged cheers of the multitude.

For the first time in the history of the country the varied products of all climates and peoples were brought together and placed on exhibition. The American display of textiles, watches, vehicles of transportation, musical instruments, watches, tools, and furniture surpassed those of any other nation. The exhibit of American-made machinery was especially creditable and attracted the greatest attention. The art collection was the poorest feature of the exhibit, but it was nevertheless the largest and most notable ever seen in America up to that time. The country had been devoted chiefly to industrial development, practical invention and manufacturing, rather than to the fine arts, and one of the valuable lessons of the Exposition was to lead Americans to a realization of the superiority of the European nations in this particular, and to stimulate them to greater interest in art and the finer aspects of civilization. The attendance at the Exposition was very large. All through the summer and autumn tens of thousands of visitors from every quarter

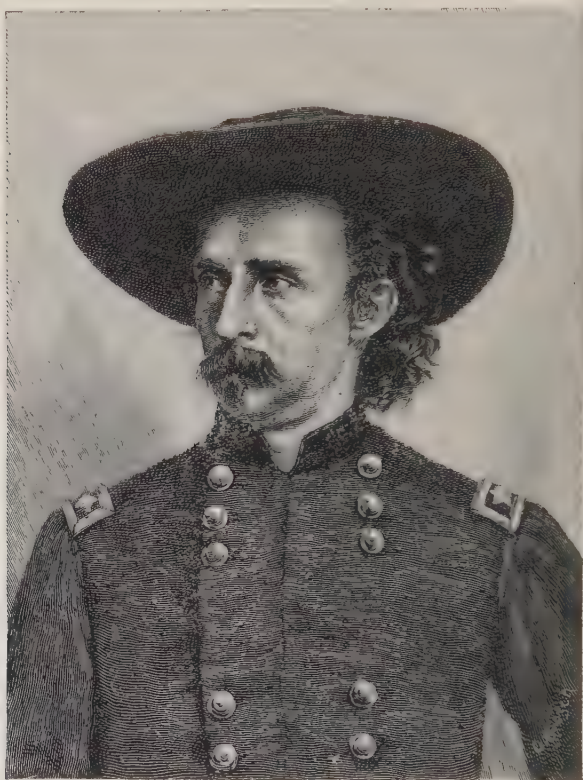


of the land poured into the city and filled the fair grounds. On one day, September 28, 275,000 persons passed through the gates. From the first to last there were 9,900,000 admissions, more than those of any previous international exposition, except that of Paris in 1867, where the gates were open nearly two months longer than were those at Philadelphia.

While the country was happy in the contemplation of the industrial progress of the United States as revealed by the Exposition, and the people were rejoicing at the pacification of the South and the termination of all domestic and international controversies, they were suddenly shocked by the news of a frightful Indian massacre in the West. As already noted, the administration of Indian affairs during President Grant's term had been such as to create great discontent among the Indians in various localities. Contractors systematically swindled them, while unscrupulous agents withheld the government supplies to which they were entitled, so that in some cases the Indians were reduced to the verge of starvation.

In 1872 the Modoc Indians of Oregon became turbulent, and refused to remain on their reservation. General E. R. S. Canby, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars, was sent against them, but they retreated to the lava beds and prepared to resist the United States. The advance of the American troops was greatly impeded by the peculiar topography of the country, and a good many of them were picked off by Indian sharpshooters concealed behind the rocks and crags of the lava beds. Efforts were then made to negotiate with them, and on April 8 an unarmed conference was held between General Canby and two peace commissioners, on the one hand, and a number of Modocs, including their chief, Captain Jack, on the other. While seated on stones around a small fire, two Indians who were

concealed in the bushes rushed from their hiding place with guns and shot to death General Canby and one of his companions. A vigorous campaign was now begun against the



GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER  
Photograph from life

treacherous Indians, and in the following summer General Jefferson C. Davis, who succeeded General Canby, captured the Modoc band. Captain Jack and three other leaders were tried by military commission and hanged, while two others were imprisoned for life. Altogether the war cost half a million dollars, sixty odd soldiers and Indian allies were killed and nearly as many wounded.

A more disastrous Indian war was that against the Sioux of Dakota, Montana and Wyoming, in the summer of 1876. A large portion of this tribe under their chiefs, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse and others, refused to be assigned to a particular reservation which the government had set aside for them, and besides persisted in making war on Indians friendly to the United States. The government



Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company

CUSTER'S LAST STAND

prepared to bring the rebellious Indians to obedience by force, and they in turn made ready for a determined resistance. Three columns, led by Generals Gibbon, Crook and Terry, moved forward with the intention of closing in simultaneously upon the hostile Indians. Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Custer, with the Seventh United States Cavalry, six hundred strong, was sent by General Terry to make a

detour, and in June he pursued Sitting Bull into the valley of the Little Big Horn River. At this juncture Custer detached over two hundred of his men and sent them under command of General Reno to cross the river and strike the hostile Indians from another direction. With only 262 men left, Custer, May 25, suddenly came upon Sitting Bull's force, numbering 2500 warriors. The brave little band dismounted and prepared to make their last stand. Presently the whole army of the Indians swooped down upon them, stampeded their horses, causing them to run away with bags of ammunition, and in twenty-five minutes all was over. Not a single man was left alive to tell the tale. The remaining companies of the Seventh Cavalry were saved by the brave and prudent conduct of Major Reno and the timely arrival of General Terry.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> "Appleton's Cyclopædia," 1876, p. 43.

## Chapter XXXVIII

### HAYES. AND THE END OF THE SOUTHERN QUESTION. 1877-1881

#### I

##### THE TILDEN-HAYES CONTEST; THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

WHILE the country was sorrowing over the awful tragedy on the Little Big Horn, the Republican national convention was gathering at Cincinnati for the purpose of nominating its candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. There were no more Grants and Lincolns, and consequently for the first time since the accession of the Republican party to power, sixteen years before, the work of the national convention was undetermined in advance by public opinion. The leading candidate in the popular estimation was James G. Blaine, of Maine, a statesman of great promise, who had been a prominent member of Congress since the outbreak of the war and had served for several terms as Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was placed in nomination by Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who referred to the candidate as a "plumed knight" who "marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor."<sup>1</sup> This eloquent outburst had reference to charges affecting Blaine's per-

<sup>1</sup> Crawford, "Life of James G. Blaine," p. 389.



sonal integrity in connection with the *Credit Mobilier* scandal. It was true that Blaine had courted investigation, and he was cleared of the charge to the satisfaction of his friends, but there were many who were not so thoroughly convinced. In consequence of the state of public opinion at this time respecting corruption in high places during the last four years, and the practical certainty that reform would be one of the chief issues in the approaching campaign, it was deemed inexpedient to nominate anyone whose record was not spotless. This was the view of the late Senator Hoar, who said, "I did not think it wise to put at the head of a movement for reform and for purity of administration a man whose supporters must defend him against such charges, and who must admit that he had most unwisely, of his own accord, put himself into a position where such charges were not only possible, but plausible."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Blaine was somewhat radical on the Southern question, and it was feared would not be strong in the States of the South. He was therefore defeated by what Webster called the "far-seeing doctrine of sagacious availability." Other prominent candidates were Senator Oliver P. Morton, the noted war governor of Indiana; Roscoe Conkling, the brilliant senator from New York and the devoted friend of General Grant, and Benjamin F. Bristow, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury, who was the candidate of the reform elements in the party, a man of spotless integrity and great ability. He was well remembered for the service which he had rendered the country in unearthing the whisky frauds and in breaking up the ring of conspirators. Moreover, coming from Kentucky, his selection would tend to remove the charge of sectionalism from the Republican party and give it strength with the white people of the South. The convention met on June 14, and three days later the balloting began. On the

<sup>2</sup> "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 379.

first ballot Blaine led with a large plurality, receiving nearly enough votes to nominate him. Bristow received the second largest number, and Morton followed third. On the second ballot Blaine gained eleven votes. On the sixth ballot his strength had risen from 285 to 308. When the seventh ballot opened the New York and Pennsylvania delegates retired for consultation, and under the lead of Conkling and Cameron determined to unite on a candidate and defeat the nomination of Blaine. As the roll call proceeded there was a stampede to Governor R. B. Hayes, of Ohio, who had from the first been supported by the Ohio delegation, and who on the fifth ballot had received the vote of the Michigan delegation as well. He was nominated, and with him William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice President. The platform contained more than the usual number of platitudes with regard to liberty, equality, civil and political rights, and the like. It eulogized the deeds of the Republican party, declared in favor of a thorough-going reform of the civil service, asserted that the pledge with regard to the resumption of specie payments must be fulfilled, "recognized" the pacification of the South, and affirmed that the protection of all citizens was a sacred duty.

The nomination of Governor Hayes was a surprise to the country and a disappointment to many, as "dark horse" candidates usually are. He was a graduate of the Harvard Law School and had served four years in Congress without gaining any special distinction. He had gone through the war, rising to the rank of brigadier general, and was serving his third term as governor of Ohio at the time of his nomination to the Presidency. He was a conservative Republican, conciliatory in disposition, of good sense, quiet and unostentatious in his methods and pleasing in manners. Sometimes belittled by historians, he was nevertheless above the average in ability of the men who have been chosen to the

Presidency and his administration was marked by tact, good judgment, and excellent intentions. "He was," says Senator Hoar, "one of the wisest, sincerest, and most honest and patriotic men who ever held the office."<sup>3</sup>

Two weeks after the nomination of Hayes and Wheeler the Democratic national convention met at St. Louis full



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Photograph from life

of hope at the prospect of success in the approaching election. The Democratic "landslide" in the elections of 1874 and the "recovery" by the Democrats of most of the Southern States, together with the cloud under which Grant's

<sup>3</sup> "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 382.

second term was approaching its end, inspired additional hope. Moreover, the Democrats were no longer at sea for a candidate as in 1873. They had at hand an irresistible leader of the Jacksonian type—one of the most striking figures that the Democracy had produced since Jackson's day. Public opinion had already settled upon him and the convention had but to ratify the popular choice. This man was Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York. Tilden was an able lawyer and through extraordinary industry and ability had acquired vast wealth. He was now more than three score years of age, and although he had not achieved high political honor until late in life, he had been an influential leader in the politics of a State where politics is an art of the highest skill.

He was a shrewd political manager, trained in the famous school of the Albany Regency. Having won fame by breaking up the notorious "Tweed ring" in New York City, the people of the State elected him governor. As the executive of the State he destroyed the "canal ring" and brought about other notable reforms in the administration of the State government. Of all men in the country, therefore, he seemed the most fitted to lead the party in a campaign in which civil service reform was to be the chief issue. Tilden was accordingly nominated on the second ballot and by a unanimous vote. Governor Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was nominated for Vice



SAMUEL JONES TILDEN  
Photograph from life



President. The platform adopted was notable as being the most elaborate declaration of principles ever put forth by a national nominating convention. Much of it was cast in the form of an indictment against the Republican party and in the language of vituperation. The paramount and all-pervading sentiment was the necessity for reform in the administration of the government. Other declarations recognized the finality of the slavery amendments, denounced the existing tariff law as unequal and unjust, and demanded the repeal of the Resumption Act on the strange ground that it was a hindrance to the resumption of specie payments.<sup>4</sup>

Two minor political parties came into existence about this time, and both nominated candidates, adopted platforms of principles and conducted regular campaigns. The first of these was the Greenback party, which advocated the payment of the government obligations in greenbacks and an increase of the volume of currency by the issue of paper money. The other was the Prohibition party, which demanded the prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. The Greenback party nominated for President the venerable Peter Cooper, the New York philanthropist, and the Prohibitionists put forward Green Clay Smith as their candidate. Neither party was strong enough to choose a single elector, and neither, therefore, affected the general result.

It was clear from the first that the Democrats had put up strong candidates, and that in consequence of the general disgust at corruption in the government service they stood an excellent chance of winning at the polls. On the morning after the election nearly all the newspapers of the country announced that Tilden was chosen. Most of the Republican leaders likewise conceded it. But there was one notable exception. This was the manager of the Republican campaign, the astute Zachariah Chandler, who, in the early

<sup>4</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," pp. 375-378.



morning hours of the day following the election, sent out the following telegraphic dispatch: "Rutherford B. Hayes has received 185 electoral votes, and is elected." On the face of the returns Tilden had carried the Northern States of New York, New Jersey, Indiana and all the Southern States. But Mr. Chandler having received what he regarded as evidence of fraud and intimidation in the three Southern States of Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina, decided to set up a claim to those States, knowing that they were still under "carpet-bag" governments, largely maintained by Federal troops, and could, therefore, be manipulated in any way that the Republicans wished.

Tilden had unquestionably received 184 votes, or one less than the number required to elect without counting the vote of the three disputed States. Hayes had undoubtedly received 166 votes, exclusive of the Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana vote. In other words, Hayes would need the entire vote of these States to elect him. This vote could be secured by the Republican "returning boards"—bodies which had full power to determine the results of the elections in these States—by throwing out the votes of any place where in their opinion fraud and intimidation had occurred, and counting the vote for Hayes and Wheeler. This was done despite the fact that, as the "cipher dispatches" subsequently proved, as the Republicans have always claimed, that Mr. Tilden and the Democrats were themselves trying to get control of these boards by purchase or otherwise. The electoral vote from these States was sent to Washington, certified to by the Republican "returning boards," as having been cast for Hayes and Wheeler. Another set of returns was sent up by the Democratic authorities, who claimed that theirs was the true return. There were also double returns from Oregon, arising from the discovery that one of the three Republican electors who had been chosen to cast the vote of

that State was technically disqualified under the Constitution of the United States, and being compelled to resign, the Democratic governor gave the certificate to the Democrat elector receiving the highest number of votes. If Tilden could get the vote of this elector he would be secure. But this was not to be. The Republican canvassing officer certified to the election of the three Republican electors, and hence a disputed return was sent to Washington.

There can be little doubt, however, that the Republicans had honestly carried Oregon and that Hayes and Wheeler were entitled to its electoral vote, but probably the reverse was more nearly true in the case of the disputed Southern States. The Constitution of the United States provides that the electoral vote of each State shall be sent to the seat of government addressed to the President of the Senate, who shall in the presence of the two houses open all certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The president of the Senate was a Republican, and a few of his party took the stand that by the Constitution he was vested with power to count the electoral vote, and hence to decide upon the disputed returns. But the language of the Constitution had never been so interpreted, and, in fact, could not be without doing violence to its spirit and letter, and no president of the Senate had ever ventured to claim such power. Indeed, no occasion had ever arisen for it, since there had never been a dispute as to the electoral vote when such dispute would affect the result. The only reasonable interpretation, therefore, was to hold that the duty of counting the vote in case of a dispute devolved upon the two houses acting concurrently. This would have been an easy enough matter to settle in 1874, when both houses were Republican, but now that only the Senate was Republican and the House of Representatives Democratic, the prospects of an agreement seemed shadowy indeed. The prize was so large that

both parties determined to do everything within their power to get possession of it. The situation was, indeed, grave, intense excitement prevailed throughout the country, and threats of open resistance were made in some quarters. Some of the hot-heads threatened to raise an army and prevent the installation of Hayes in the event he should be declared elected, but the great majority of the party did not approve of any such lawless action. Moreover, President Grant had quietly strengthened the military forces about Washington for the purpose of suppressing any disorder which might arise. This, the Democrats asserted, was done for the purpose of intimidation and with a view of installing Hayes in the Presidency by the aid of the army of the United States.

In the meantime, all eyes were turned to Congress as the only authority which could settle the difficulty. What would it do? On December 14, 1876, the House appointed a committee of seven to act with a similar committee of the Senate to determine upon some mode of counting the electoral vote. On the 18th the Senate appointed a similar committee, and the two acting conjointly soon got down to work to find a solution. Plan after plan was proposed and rejected. Finally a scheme was agreed upon, reported to the two houses and adopted. It provided for the creation of an Electoral Commission to be composed of five members of the Senate, five members of the House of Representatives, and five members of the Supreme Court. To this commission were to be referred all questions touching the electoral return from any State, and its decision was to stand unless rejected by the concurrent votes of the two houses. The five members chosen by the Senate consisted of three Republicans and two Democrats; the five chosen by the House consisted of three Democrats and two Republicans; four justices of the Supreme Court, two Republicans

and two Democrats, were designated by the Act creating the commission, and these four were directed to choose the fifth man, who would be the umpire in every question of disputed returns. At the time the Act was under discussion it was agreed that Justice David Davis should be the fifth man. Before the war he had been a Republican and a close friend of Mr. Lincoln, by whom he had been appointed to the Supreme bench, but during the reconstruction period he had turned Democrat and was a supporter of Mr. Tilden in the late election. He called himself an independent, and was believed to be freer from party prejudice than any other member of the Court. The Democrats were entirely willing to risk their case in his hands, and they had almost unanimously voted for the bill creating the Electoral Commission, with the understanding that Judge Davis would be the fifth man. The Republicans on the other hand were not at all convinced of Judge Davis's freedom from political bias, and it is significant that strong opposition to the electoral scheme was developed in their ranks.

But just at this moment all plans and calculations were upset by the unexpected action of the Illinois legislature in choosing Judge Davis to a seat in the United States Senate, whether for the purpose of upsetting the plans of the Democrats or not will never be known. Be this as it may, having been chosen to a political office by a Democratic legislature, the impropriety of his serving as umpire was evident, and the four justices chose Justice Bradley, a Republican, as the fifth. The commission now consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats.<sup>5</sup> The Democrats, however, still had

<sup>5</sup> The commission was as follows: Justices of the Supreme Court—Nathan Clifford, Samuel F. Miller, Stephen J. Field, William Strong, Joseph P. Bradley. Senators—George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Thomas F. Bayard, Allen G. Thurman.

Representatives—Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunton, Josiah G. Abbott, James A. Garfield, George F. Hoar.



hopes, since they had to gain only one of the disputed votes to win the Presidency, while the Republicans had to gain all. Both parties were represented before the commission by as imposing an array of eminent counsel as could be found in the country. The Republicans took the position from the first that the commission could not go behind the returns of the canvassing boards; that the decision of these boards as to the returns in their respective States was final; that neither Congress nor any agency created under its authority could inquire into or interfere with the choosing of the electors; and that the authority of Congress was restricted by the Constitution merely to the ministerial function of counting the votes certified to and sent to Washington by such authorities as the States may have created for that purpose. They insisted, furthermore, that as the Democrats had always claimed to be champions of the rights of the States as against the powers of the national government, they should accept this view, or forever lay themselves liable to the charge of gross inconsistency.

But the Democrats felt that if they were not entitled to a verdict by strict adherence to the law, equity and justice were on their side, since it was almost incontestable that they had then been counted out in the three Southern States by canvassing bodies made up of ignorant negroes and "carpet-



JUSTICE JOSEPH P. BRADLEY  
Photograph from life



baggers," whether they had carried the elections fairly or not. The Republican argument, however, prevailed with the commission, or rather with the Republican members of it, and by the strict party vote of eight to seven it decided that the certificates issued by the governors of the four disputed States were conclusive as to the electoral votes of those States, and they were accordingly given to Hayes and Wheeler. In the early morning hours of March 2, but two days before the beginning of the new presidential term, they were proclaimed by the president of the Senate to have been elected President and Vice President respectively of the United States. The Democrats, of course, were sorely disappointed, and a number of the more radical members of the House resorted to dilatory motions in order to retard the progress of the count and prevent its completion before March 4, when the duty of choosing a President would have devolved upon the House, voting by States. "When fraud is law," said one of the prominent Democratic members, "filibustering is patriotism."<sup>6</sup> A large number of the prominent Democrats of the House, however, including the Speaker, Samuel J. Randall, were opposed to all obstructive tactics intended to prevent the completion of the count, and through the resolution of the Speaker the dilatory motions were ruled out of order and the count completed. Threats were also made that Hayes should not be inaugurated, but Mr. Tilden caused it to be known that he strongly disapproved of such outbursts and advised his friends to submit to the decision of the commission. Mainly through the influence of Senators Lamar of Mississippi and Bayard of Delaware the Democrats accepted their defeat in a manner which was, on the whole, exceedingly praiseworthy.<sup>7</sup> Great relief was felt that the difficulty had been settled without trouble. For

<sup>6</sup> Cox, "Three Decades of Federal Legislation," p. 638.

<sup>7</sup> Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. ii. p. 41.

weeks there had been uneasiness and anxiety throughout the country in view of the reports, probably unfounded, that the Democrats would not submit to the installation of Hayes. Never had a presidential election come so near to precipitating the country into a civil war. Now that the crisis had passed it behooved Congress to make a permanent provision for counting the electoral votes thereafter in case of disputes, so as to avoid the dangers with which the country had been threatened.

## II

BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA; THE RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877  
ANTI-CHINESE AGITATION; MONETARY LEGISLATION

Rutherford B. Hayes was inaugurated President on March 5, 1877—the 4th falling on Sunday—although he had already taken the oath the day previous as a matter of precaution. He felt keenly the accusations printed in many Democratic papers that he was a fraudulent President and that another ought to be in his place. But he was not to blame, nor could he have well refused to obey the decision of Congress that he was the legally elected President. Nevertheless, he soon won the good opinion of his Democratic critics by the announcement in his inaugural address that he proposed to withdraw the remaining Federal troops from the Southern States and leave the “carpet-bag” governments to take care of themselves. “The fact is clear,” he said, “that in the progress of events the time has come when wise, honest, and peaceful self-government is an imperative necessity required by all the varied interests, public and private, of those States.”<sup>8</sup> He, therefore, proposed to put the white people of those States upon their

<sup>8</sup> Richardson, “Messages and Papers of the Presidents,” vol. vii. p. 443.

good faith and honor as regards their treatment of the black population. Indeed, it was asserted that Mr. Hayes had, before the decision of the commission, given assurance to leading Southerners that if the decision were in his favor he would pursue a different policy toward the South from that pursued by his predecessors. This part of the inaugural address caused a good deal of dissatisfaction among the more radical Republicans, but was strongly approved by the conservative element.<sup>9</sup> The President speedily carried into effect his new Southern policy, withdrew the Federal troops and allowed the "negro carpet-bag" governments to which he owed his office to collapse in Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana. They were succeeded by Democratic governments which the President recognized,<sup>10</sup> and thus the long and disgraceful era of "carpet-bag" rule came to an end in the South. In every Southern State the white people were now in control of their local governments, and the South now entered upon a period of progress and political quietude. But the President's Southern policy and the circumstances of his nomination and election caused him difficulty and embarrassment. He had, throughout his entire term, to encounter the opposition of all the principal leaders of his party in both houses of Congress. Conkling treated him with contempt, both in public and in private; Blaine was disgruntled chiefly because of his own defeat and partly because he was unable to dictate the appointment of a Cabinet member; while Cameron, Hamlin and others were hostile for various reasons. "With the exception of Stanley Matthews of Ohio and my colleague, Mr. Dawes," says the late Senator Hoar, "I was, I believe, the only cordial supporter

<sup>9</sup> Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 595.

<sup>10</sup> The radical Republicans asserted, with some truth, that in recognizing the Democratic governments in these States and installing them in the places of the Republican governments the President was in effect acknowledging that Tilden had carried these States at the recent Presidential election.

of the President in the Senate.”<sup>11</sup> Besides the opposition in his own party, the House of Representatives contained a Democratic majority during the first half of his term, and during the second half both Houses were against him.

The Cabinet selected by President Hayes was one of exceptional ability; perhaps there has never been a stronger since the beginning of the government.<sup>12</sup> Its more prominent members were William M. Evarts of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Carl Schurz of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior, and Charles Devens of Massachusetts, Attorney General.

Among the new members of the Senate who had already won distinction in the lower House were George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, James G. Blaine of Maine, James B. Beck of Kentucky, Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia, and L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi. Of the new senators who had never served in Congress were David Davis of Illinois, who exchanged a seat on the Supreme bench for one in the Senate; Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa, A. H. Garland of Arkansas, Stanley Mathews of Ohio, and J. Donald Cameron of Pennsylvania, who succeeded his father Simon Cameron.

The House of Representatives organized by the election of Samuel J. Randall, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, Speaker over James A. Garfield of Ohio. Among the new members who entered Congress for the first time were Thomas B. Reed of Maine and William McKinley of Ohio.

The administration of President Hayes marks the beginning of a new order of things. The “carpet-bag” governments in the South had disappeared and the rule of the white man had succeeded. The vexatious Southern question which had been paramount since the close of

<sup>11</sup> Hoar, “Autobiography of Seventy Years,” vol. ii. p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 16.



the Civil War no longer forced itself to the front to disturb the returning friendliness between the people of the two sections. Two years before, Mr. Lamar of Mississippi had delivered in the House a brilliant eulogy upon the life and character of the late Senator Sumner, of all men the one whose memory was, perhaps, most execrated in the South. This tribute to the memory of a Northern abolitionist and negro suffragist from a former Southern secessionist was one of the signs of returning cordiality between the



LUCIUS QUINTUS CININNATUS LAMAR  
Photograph from life

North and the South, and it created a profound impression throughout the country. Its concluding sentiment, "My countrymen, *know* one another, and you will *love* one another," was a sympathetic appeal for more intimate relations between the two hitherto hostile sections.<sup>13</sup> The incident was frequently referred to as the burial of the "bloody shirt"; it brought tears to the eyes of Speaker Blaine, who pronounced it a "mark of

positive genius,"<sup>14</sup> and caused Lamar to be called "an inspired pacificator, who would stand out unique, almost incomprehensible, to other times." The people now turned from the discussion of the old questions growing out of secession, civil war, and reconstruction to the new questions of economic and industrial development.

One effect of the new conditions was the growth of powerful corporations and the rise of the problem of the

<sup>13</sup> Mayes, "Life, Times, and Speeches of L. Q. C. Lamar," p. 184.

<sup>14</sup> "Twenty Years of Congress," vol. ii. p. 546,



relations between capital and labor. One of the results was the organization of a national labor party and the rise of the Grange movement. The "Grangers," or "Patrons of Husbandry," was an organization designed to promote the special interests of the farming class, particularly with respect to better transportation facilities and lower railroad rates. It was organized at Washington in 1867, mainly through the initiative of a clerk in the Department of Agriculture, but did not flourish until several years later. The organization was secret and membership was restricted to those actually engaged in agricultural pursuits. There were district, State and national organizations, and by 1873 there were not less than 13,000 subordinate Granges. In 1875 it had a total membership of 1,500,000, its chief strength being in the South and West, and it was soon to play an important part in the politics of these sections. Although the Grange was supposed to be a non-political organization, it nevertheless actively advocated legislation favorable to the farming interests and was largely instrumental in securing the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law, the law creating experiment stations, the law creating the Department of Agriculture and others. This period was also marked by the rapid growth of labor organizations and the rise of the labor agitator, both being accelerated by the enormous increase of immigration and the growth of the urban population. The "strike," the "boycott" and the "black list" now made their appearance as weapons of laborer or employer.

It was in the mining regions of Pennsylvania that labor troubles first became so serious as to disturb the peace and security of society. A secret society known as the "Molly Maguires" was organized among the mining laborers of this State somewhat after the order of the Ku-Klux-Klan in the South. It terrorized districts of Pennsylvania and com-

mitted horrible atrocities upon employers and their agents, many of whom were assassinated, beaten or blackmailed. The "Mollies" had their signs, passwords and ritual. So numerous did they become that it was almost impossible to convict one, since they were always represented on the juries. Taking an active part in politics, they carried the local elections and were themselves chosen to many of the local offices. After terrorizing the coal regions of Pennsylvania for several years, the organization was finally broken up through the skillful work of detectives and vigorous prosecution by the law officers. Several of their leaders were captured, convicted and hanged.

These disorders in Pennsylvania were followed in July, 1877, by a great strike of railway employés—the greatest in fact that had ever occurred in the history of the country, and affecting nearly 100,000 laborers. The principal lines involved were the Baltimore & Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie and the New York Central, aggregating about 6,000 miles in length. The immediate complaint of the striking employés was a ten per cent. cut in wages, but there were also grievances such as irregular employment, tardy payment, etc.<sup>15</sup> The employés of the Baltimore & Ohio ceased work on July 14, and were followed almost simultaneously by the employés of the other lines. For two weeks traffic in the portion of the country served by these lines was almost at a standstill. When attempts were made to fill the places of the striking employés with other men the strikers undertook to interfere. Thereupon the militia was called out to preserve the peace and several bloody riots followed. At Pittsburg the militia were besieged in the roundhouse by a mob of strikers and were compelled to evacuate on account of the action of the rioters in pushing burning oil cars against the building. Several bloody

<sup>15</sup> "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia" for 1877, p. 423.

encounters took place here between the militia and the strikers.

Finally the President was prevailed upon to send Federal troops to Pennsylvania, Missouri and West Virginia, and they were able to quell the disorders. At Scranton, Reading and Chicago riots also occurred, in every case resulting in considerable loss of life and destruction of property. In Pittsburg alone the destruction of property aggregated many millions of dollars. Machine shops, warehouses and hundreds of freight cars and locomotives were burned, while the disorderly rabble fell to thieving and plundering the shops and stores of the city. Finally by the end of the month the strike subsided and the laborers returned to their work. This was the first serious labor strike in the country, but it was soon followed by others among the miners and the laborers of various other industries.

Closely following the labor disturbances of Pennsylvania and the States adjacent thereto was a labor agitation of a different kind on the Pacific Coast, namely, the movement against the Chinese, who were now flocking to California in great numbers. In 1858 a treaty between the United States and China had been negotiated by William B. Reed of Pennsylvania, by which immigration of Chinese to the United States was allowed.<sup>16</sup> Only an inconsiderable immigration followed, however, on account of the refusal of the emperor to allow his subjects to remove from the Celestial dominions. In 1868 the Reed treaty was superseded by a more liberal one negotiated by Anson Burlingame, a former member of Congress from Massachusetts, who had been appointed minister to China by President Lincoln in 1861. After several years of service as American minister at Peking he was appointed by the Chinese Government as its envoy to visit the United States and

<sup>16</sup> Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," ch. vii.

various countries of Europe and negotiate new treaties. Reaching the United States in May, 1868, he speedily concluded a treaty with Secretary Seward which contained a stipulation by which the emperor recognized the right of voluntary emigration on the part of his subjects, while the United States conceded their right to enter this country for the purpose of permanent residence,<sup>17</sup>

The effectual attempts of the more civilized nations at this time to suppress the coolie trade led the Chinese to turn their eyes toward California and the other States of the Pacific Coast, and soon they were arriving by the thousands. The discovery of gold and the demand for labor at high rates of wages was an especial incentive. At the time it was felt that the Chinese were a valuable addition to the labor element of the country, and the treaty was praised everywhere as a liberal and valuable one quite worthy of a great nation like the United States. But within a few years a change of sentiment respecting the desirability of the Chinese took place on the Pacific Coast, where the Chinese population was chiefly settled. Diligent and very frugal in their habits, they were able to compete fatally with white laborers in the mines and shops, on the farms and in domestic service. This fact soon aroused the hostility of the labor unions, and they began a crusade against the further importation of Chinese laborers. It was said, and with perfect truth, that on account of their methods of living they were able to work for wages so low as to virtually shut out white laborers, or degrade them to the abject condition of a servile class; that they segregated themselves from the white population in cheap, uncleanly houses, did not assimilate with the mass of the people, but retained their peculiar customs and superstitions, thus constituting a danger to the health, security and institutions of the white race. Finally it was

<sup>17</sup> Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 266.



charged that they did not bring their families with them to make homes and become citizens, but after remaining for a few years returned with their savings to China, only to have their places filled by others.

As the influx of Chinese immigrants increased the agitation against them became stronger and more violent. In 1871, in consequence of the murder by Chinamen of a policeman, a riot occurred at Los Angeles, California, in the course of which fifteen Chinese were lynched. It was about this time that the movement known as Kearneyism began to attract attention. It took its name from one Dennis Kearney, a shrewd, enterprising Irish laborer and loud-mouthed agitator who became the organizer and president of the "Workingman's Party of California," one of whose tenets was the ejection of the Chinese. "Sand lot" meetings attended by thousands of California's riff-raff were harangued by Kearney, who launched abusive tirades against "thieving politicians," "blood-sucking capitalists," Chinese and all others above the lot of the common laborer. As Cato concluded his philippics with the words "*Delenda est Carthago*," so Kearney closed all his harangues with the declaration, "The Chinese must go." These meetings were frequently attended with great disorder, occasional personal violence was wreaked upon the Chinese and their property, and some of the leaders, among them Kearney, were arrested and thrown into prison.

But the agitators did not cease, and their numbers increased until they were able to influence the elections. Local politicians curried favor with them, while the national political parties were forced to make promises in the hope of carrying the State in the presidential elections. State laws were passed restricting in various ways the rights of the Chinese and seeking to limit their immigration to this country, but whenever such legislation was contested in the courts



it was generally held void as being in violation of the Federal Constitution or treaties. The anti-Chinese agitators now carried their fight to Congress, and succeeded in 1876 in having a joint committee appointed to visit the Pacific Coast and investigate the whole subject of Chinese immigration with a view to the abrogation or modification of the Burlingame treaty. The committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, visited California, took a vast amount of testimony and made two reports. The one signed by the majority of the committee corroborated the charges which the white people had preferred against the Chinese, and recommended that measures be taken looking to a modification of the treaty with a view of placing some restrictions upon the great influx of Asiatics. Congress at once entered upon a long discussion of the subject, and in 1878 passed a bill so restrictive of Chinese immigration that in the language of the President it fell "little short of absolute exclusion," and was in direct violation of the treaty of 1868. This measure indicated a most radical change of public opinion toward the Chinese, and seemed such an open disregard of our international obligations that President Hayes was led to veto it. But this veto only baffled for a brief time the anti-Chinese agitators; they renewed their campaign, and in a few years a Chinese Exclusion Act became law.

In the congressional elections of 1878 the Democrats maintained their power in the lower House of Congress, and, having carried a number of State elections, enough Democratic senators were sent to Washington to give the Democrats a majority of the Senate also. For the first time since the Civil War they now controlled both houses of Congress, but on account of a Republican President were unable to enact any important party measures. Whenever this was attempted Hayes used his veto power freely, and the Demo-

crats, not having a two-thirds majority, were unable to override him. One part of the Democratic programme which thus fell through was the attempt to break down the Federal election laws by forbidding the use of troops and by refusing appropriations for deputy marshals, supervisors, etc. But Hayes vetoed all such measures, whether in the form of separate bills or as "riders" attached to the appropriation bills.

Important financial legislation during Hayes's administration was the Bland-Allison Act, passed over the President's veto, remonetizing the silver dollar, which, as has been said, was dropped from the list of American coins in 1873. Ever since the passage of the Demonetization Act the question of restoring the silver dollar had been widely discussed throughout the country, and many felt that Congress had made a mistake in thus discriminating against silver, while some even asserted that a great crime had been committed. Shortly after the Act of 1873 an astonishing fall in the value of silver occurred, which was believed to have been due to adoption of a gold basis in the United States, Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Greece, but which in reality was principally owing to the overabundance of silver.<sup>15</sup> Until the value of silver began to fall there was little or no demand in the United States for the "dollar of our fathers." But when silver became cheap people clamored for the remonetization of the silver dollar, either from a wish to pay off existing debts in a cheap money or from a desire upon the part of miners to keep up the demand for their product. It was in response to this agitation that the Bland-Allison Act was passed. As the bill passed the House it contained a provision for the free coinage of silver; but under the leadership of Mr. Allison in the Senate this mischievous provision was stricken out, and as a compromise it was

<sup>15</sup> Laughlin, "Political Economy," p. 311.

agreed that the Secretary of the Treasury should be directed to purchase silver bullion enough to coin not less than \$2,000,000, nor more than \$4,000,000 monthly. It was believed that this demand for silver would keep up its value, but the amount was insufficient, and the value continued to fall until it reached the lowest point in our history. The Act was therefore of no service, and had Mr. Bland's free coinage provision been adopted great harm would have resulted, and our gold currency would have disappeared at once, leaving only silver in circulation.<sup>19</sup>

From the silver bill the attention of the public was directed to the approaching day set for the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879. Fortunately for the country the work of preparing for this devolved upon a skilled financier, John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, who for years had served as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Many doubted to the last that resumption would be possible, but Sherman had been quietly gathering a supply of gold, and when the day came there was \$134,000,000 on hand with which to redeem any of the greenbacks that might be presented.<sup>20</sup> Already, two weeks before, the premium on gold had disappeared and the confidence in the financial ability and integrity of the government was so great that few notes were now presented. From that day to this a greenback dollar has been worth as much as a gold dollar, although in reality it is but a promise of the government to pay at some future time.

During the summer of 1878 a yellow fever epidemic of unprecedented malignity swept over some of the Southern States, causing great loss of life, much suffering and general paralysis of business and industry. The disease made its appearance at New Orleans during the latter part of May

<sup>19</sup> Laughlin, "Political Economy," p. 312.

<sup>20</sup> John Sherman's "Recollections," vol. ii. p. 687.

and was traced to a steamer which arrived from Havana on the 23d of the month. The fever rapidly spread from house to house, until by August 20 the epidemic was declared by the Board of Health to be beyond control. Many towns and cities in Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee and other States were likewise afflicted. The greater part of the population of Vicksburg fled and it is estimated that as many as 15,000 of the inhabitants of Memphis did likewise. At one time scarcely 3,500 persons were left in Memphis, and of these one-third were fever-stricken. Altogether about 14,000 persons succumbed to the dread disease.<sup>21</sup> The largest death rate was in Memphis, where 4,200 persons died. Next came New Orleans, with 3,977, and Vicksburg with 1,138. In some towns almost one-fifth of the population perished. From all parts of the country physicians and nurses tendered their services and many of them fell victims to the plague while bravely laboring at their posts of duty. Contributions amounting to more than \$383,000 were sent to the stricken communities from various parts of the United States and Europe. In New Orleans the suffering were cared for by the Howard Association, a body of good Samaritans, which employed over one hundred physicians and furnished relief to 24,000 stricken persons. The pestilence reached its height on September 11. Gloom hung like a pall over the city and the stillness of death reigned unbroken except for the clatter of unfollowed hearses and the hurrying hither and thither of nurses and physicians. Music was forbidden and the church bells were no longer rung. Business and trade had long since come to a standstill and there was hardly a thought of anything except for the dead or the dying. Finally with the appearance of the October frosts the ravages of the disease ceased and the most destructive epidemic in the history of the country came to an end.

<sup>21</sup> "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1878, p. 319.

## Chapter XXXIX

### GARFIELD AND ARTHUR. 1881-1885

#### I

#### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1880 ; THE " GRANT MOVEMENT " TRIUMPH OF GARFIELD

**I**N 1880, as in 1876, there was no lack of candidates for the Republican nomination for President, and again the convention fell back upon a "dark horse." First among the candidates was General Grant, who, while probably not eager for the nomination himself, allowed his name to be proposed by some of his friends who wished to accord him the unprecedented honor of a third term. He had just returned from a remarkable tour around the world and was more than ever a hero. The rulers and statesmen of every important country on the globe had seemingly vied with one another in rendering his progress a continual ovation, and the honors bestowed upon him in foreign lands were probably greater than had ever before fallen to the lot of any American. The people of the United States felt a personal pride in the splendid reception which had been accorded to the ex-President abroad, and when he reached home, after an absence of nearly three years, he was welcomed after the manner of a returning hero. There was now a disposition to overlook and forget the mistakes of his administration and remember only his deeds as a soldier in the Civil War, while his absence had done much to soften whatever asperities had grown out of factional differences among his followers.



The leader of Grant's forces in the convention was Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, the Republican dictator in that State and a devoted personal admirer of the ex-President, over whom he had wielded tremendous influence during his Presidency. He was ably supported by "Don" Cameron of Pennsylvania, who had succeeded to his father's power in that State, and also by General John A. Logan of Illinois, the most distinguished volunteer soldier of the Civil War on the northern side and a great favorite with the veterans throughout the country. But there were many among the Republican leaders who could not forget the scandals of Grant's second term and who realized that with him as a candidate it would be hard to meet the Democratic assaults. "There was a feeling," said the late Senator Hoar, "that the influence of unworthy politicians, which had been powerful with him during his second term, would be more powerful if he should go back to the Presidency with their aid."<sup>1</sup> More important still was the unwritten law against third terms, and if it were disregarded in General Grant's case it might lead to dangers unforeseen in the future. The example set by Washington in this respect they felt was worthy to be followed for all time. Next to Grant, Blaine, who had come so near getting the nomination in 1876, was the most popular candidate, his popularity having increased during the four years since his defeat. There were many who felt that he had not only been unjustly but cruelly treated, and were eager to record their verdict of acquittal from the malignant charges which had been made against him since 1876. But there were many more who preferred a candidate against whom no charges rested and who would not therefore be a handicap to the party.<sup>2</sup> Some of these preferred George F. Edmunds of Vermont, a man

<sup>1</sup> Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 385.

of eminent ability and long public service. And lastly there was John Sherman, who during the last four years had served as Secretary of the Treasury and had won great honor by the skill and success with which he had brought about the resumption of specie payments. The convention met at Chicago on June 2. Its action was largely the result of an old-time feud between Blaine and Conkling. Conkling was undoubtedly a brilliant man. He was handsome,



ROScoe CONKLING  
Photograph from life

always well and carefully dressed, and possessed remarkable oratorical power. But he was vain, imperious and dictatorial, frequently offensive in his manner, impatient of opposition and inclined to ride roughshod over those who opposed him. Blaine possessed far greater gifts of real statesmanship, was equally learned and imposing in presence, but not so highly gifted in the use of elaborate language and entirely lacking in Conkling's

swaggering assumption. The trouble between the two leaders dated back to April, 1866, when in the course of a debate Blaine denied Conkling's right to accept an appointment from the Secretary of War as Judge Advocate while at the same time serving as a representative in Congress.

A fierce war of words followed, and each, losing his temper, denounced the other in language which for biting sarcasm and vituperation was scarcely ever excelled on the floor of Congress. Blaine compared the New York Senator to a singed cat and a whining puppy, saying, "The con-

tempt of that large-minded gentleman is so wilting, his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic overpowering turkey-gobbler strut has been so crushing to myself and to all the members of the House, that I knew it was an act of the greatest temerity for me to venture upon a controversy with him.”<sup>3</sup> From that day until Conkling died in 1888 he never spoke a word to Blaine, although they served fifteen years together in Congress. The rivalry of the two men for the leadership of the party led almost to a schism in its ranks. Conkling had defeated Blaine’s nomination in 1876, and now that Conkling was doing all in his power to bring about Grant’s nomination for a third term it was Blaine’s turn to thwart Conkling by defeating Grant, to whom also he was honestly opposed. Conkling was present at the convention and took personal charge of the Grant movement. Fearing a “bolt” in the event of Grant’s nomination, Conkling secured the adoption of a resolution by a vote of 719 to 3, pledging every delegate to vote for the nominee, whoever it might be. This done, Conkling demanded the adoption of the unit rule, by which the entire vote of each State is cast by a majority of the delegation, and also insisted that the delegates chosen by certain State conventions should be seated in preference to the contestants elected in the usual way by district conventions. He was

<sup>3</sup> Crawford, “Life of James G. Blaine,” p. 146. Conkling seemed to take special delight in annoying the Southern members. On one occasion he aroused Lamar of Mississippi, and went so far as to say that nothing but the rules of the Senate would restrain him from denouncing the senator as a blackguard and a coward. Lamar replied in explanation of a previous statement: “Mr. President, I have only to say that the senator from New York understood me correctly. I did mean to say just precisely the words and all that they imported. I beg pardon of the Senate for the unparliamentary language. It was very harsh; it was very severe; it was such as no good man would deserve and no brave man would wear.” Conkling’s discomfiture was a source of great satisfaction to Blaine. Many feared that Conkling would demand an apology of Lamar, but he never took any notice of the latter’s castigation. —Mayes, “*Life, Times, and Speeches of L. Q. C. Lamar*,” p. 384.

defeated on both positions, the unit rule being voted down and the delegates chosen by district conventions being seated. This meant a loss of many delegates for Grant, insured his defeat, and at the same time brought Garfield, who had led the opposition to the unit rule, to the front as a possible candidate. On the fourth day of the convention the nominations were made. Mr. Joy of Michigan presented the name of James G. Blaine. Mr. Conkling presented the name of General Grant in a powerful speech which created unbounded enthusiasm, and was followed by a storm of applause by the 15,000 persons in the galleries, lasting twenty-five minutes. He began by saying:

“ If asked what State he hails from,  
Our sole reply shall be —  
He comes from Appomattox  
And the famous apple tree.”

John Sherman's name was presented by General Garfield in a speech which made a strong impression. “ It was,” says Senator Hoar, “ one of the greatest oratorical triumphs that I ever witnessed.” After the Grant applause had subsided Garfield quietly began: “ I have witnessed the extraordinary scene of this convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honor to a great and noble character. But as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in a tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and



depths." It was apparent that since the meeting of the convention Garfield's star had been steadily rising, although he was not a candidate; was, in fact, the leader of Sherman's forces and pledged to do everything in his power to bring about Sherman's nomination. On the first ballot the vote stood: Grant, 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93, and scattering, 75. Thirty-two ballots followed without any material change in the strength of Grant, Blaine or Sherman. On the thirty-fourth ballot Garfield received the sixteen votes of Wisconsin. The Edmunds and other independent delegates and those also who had been voting for Blaine and Sherman now rapidly changed to Garfield under instruction from their chiefs at Washington. It was a case of anything to beat Grant. Blaine by telegraph was able to transfer every vote cast for him to Garfield except that of a colored delegate from Virginia. Sherman, who disliked Conkling quite as much as did Blaine, was able to do practically the same thing. On the thirty-sixth ballot General Garfield was nominated, receiving 399 votes, or twenty-one more than were necessary to a choice. Soon after the balloting began Grant's strength rose to 306 votes, and this he held until the last. These delegates came to be known as the "Old Guard," whom nothing could induce to desert their leader.

Garfield was greatly disturbed by his nomination, and amid the stampede about him sat pale and motionless in his seat. He is reported to have said that he would rather be shot with musketry than be nominated and have Sherman think he had been unfaithful to his obligations as leader of Sherman's forces. It is certain that he rose in the convention and attempted to decline the nomination, but was shut off on a point of order. Senator Sherman always believed that his friends betrayed him and thus caused his defeat,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> "Recollections of John Sherman," p. 776.



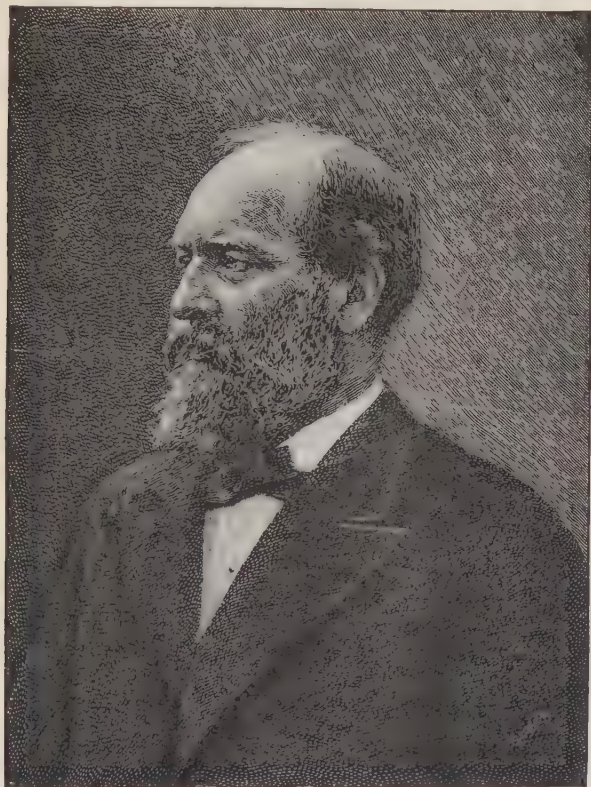
but there is no evidence that Garfield ever sought the nomination for himself. There was never, in fact, any considerable number of persons who believed Sherman's nomination practicable.<sup>5</sup> Conkling's feelings can be better imagined than described. As a consolation he was allowed to name the candidate for Vice President, and he designated for this position Chester A. Arthur, collector of the port of New York and a conspicuous advocate of Grant. Arthur was nominated on the first ballot over E. B. Washburne of Illinois.

Although a "dark horse" in the convention, as the term goes, General Garfield was one of the best known public men in the country, and had for some time been the Republican leader in the House. Like so many of our Presidents, he was of poor and humble parentage. While still a child, his father, a small farmer in Northern Ohio, died, leaving him to shift for himself. Working for a time as mule driver of a canal-boat, he gave his spare moments to study and soon acquired a thirst for knowledge. Presently he entered Williams College, Massachusetts, and in due time graduated therefrom. He then became a professor in Hiram College, Ohio, and subsequently its president. A member of the Ohio legislature when the Civil War broke out, he enlisted in the army and rose rapidly to the rank of major general, this honor being conferred upon him in recognition of gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga. While the war was still going on he was elected to Congress, where he soon became prominent, and ultimately rose to a position of leadership. At the time of his nomination he was a United States Senator-elect. Hardly any man in his party possessed a wider acquaintance with public questions or understood better than he the history and principles of the government. A persuasive and eloquent speaker, pleasing

<sup>5</sup> Hoar, "Autobiography," vol. i. pp. 396-400.

in person and most dignified in bearing, he made a good impression upon all who knew him.

The Democratic national convention was held at Cincinnati beginning June 22. The logic of the situation required the nomination of Mr. Tilden, who, his friends



JAMES A. GARFIELD

Photograph from life

declared, had been counted out by the Republicans in 1876; but a few days before the meeting of the convention he wrote a letter declining to be a candidate. After several ineffectual ballottings General Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania received the nomination. General Hancock

was one of the most distinguished soldiers of the Civil War, and was regarded by many as the real hero of Gettysburg. He was a graduate of West Point, a veteran of the Mexican War, and, besides his good generalship at Gettysburg, had won distinction at Antietam and in the Peninsula Campaign. He was a handsome, brave and chivalrous soldier, one of the strongest candidates that the Democrats could have possibly named. His nomination was received with enthusiasm both in the North and in the South. He was destined to be defeated, not because he was not trusted, but because of distrust of the Democratic party. William H. English of Indiana was nominated for the Vice Presidency.

The Greenback party, which had increased enormously in strength since the last presidential election, nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa, while a fourth Civil War general, Neal Dow of Maine, was put forward by the Prohibitionists. The several party issues were substantially the same as at the previous election, except that the Democrats declared in favor of a tariff for revenue only, denounced the methods by which Tilden was counted out in 1876, and demanded honest money either of coin or convertible paper currency. Both parties made declarations in favor of restricting the immigration of Chinese to this country.

The campaign was not one of exceptional warmth or excitement. The Republicans made their usual charges concerning the incompetency of the Democrats to govern the country, persisted in "waving the bloody shirt,"<sup>6</sup> and poked fun at their opponents for an unfortunate utterance of General Hancock that the tariff was "a local issue." The Democrats harped on the need of reform in the government service, the electoral commission fraud and accused Garfield

<sup>6</sup> It was about this time that this now well-known phrase came into use. It had reference to the alleged practice of the Republicans of raking up the old issues of the Civil War.

of complicity in the *Credit Mobilier* frauds. Just before election day the Democratic papers spread broadcast facsimiles of a letter purporting to have been written by General Garfield to one H. L. Morey of Lynn, Massachusetts, advocating increased immigration of Chinese laborers. The letter was proved to be a forgery, but not until it had done Garfield a good deal of harm. It cost him the electoral vote of both Nevada and California.

The results of the September elections were discouraging to the Republicans. By a small majority Maine was carried by the Greenbackers and Democrats, in spite of their declaration in favor of a tariff for revenue only. Until now Conkling and many of the Grant followers had sulked and refused to take the field in the interest of Garfield's election. Alarmed at the result of the Maine election, however, they came out and worked for the success of the ticket during the remaining days of the campaign. A marked feature of the canvass was the action of General Grant and Senator Conkling in taking the stump together in Ohio and Indiana. Conkling did most of the speaking, merely exhibiting Grant to the large audiences that gathered everywhere to hear the speeches of the one and see with their own eyes the other. It was a successful scheme and undoubtedly did much to enable the Republicans to carry those States.

The result of the election was that Garfield carried all the Northern States except New Jersey, Nevada and California. Hancock carried these three partly as a result of the "Morey forgery," together with all the Southern States. The electoral vote stood: Garfield, 214; Hancock, 155; but Garfield's popular plurality was only 10,000 in a total of 9,000,000.<sup>7</sup> For the first time since the Civil War the Republicans had received no electoral votes from the States south of Mason and Dixon's line. From that time until

<sup>7</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 417.



now, except in one or two recent instances, the South has continued to go solidly Democratic in national elections. So long as the presence of the negro remains a disturbing political element the consolidation of this section in national political matters will probably continue. So long as there is a possible danger that negro suffrage and social equality with the black race may be forced upon the white people of the South by the Republican party, they will continue to feel that they must stand together in political opposition to that party. This is unfortunate, since it means political stagnation, and virtually forces the Southern white man who dissents from the financial and other policies of the Democratic party to vote against his conviction on those questions. There can be no doubt that the existence of two evenly divided respectable political parties organized along other lines than color or race would bring about more wholesome and healthy conditions to national politics in the South.

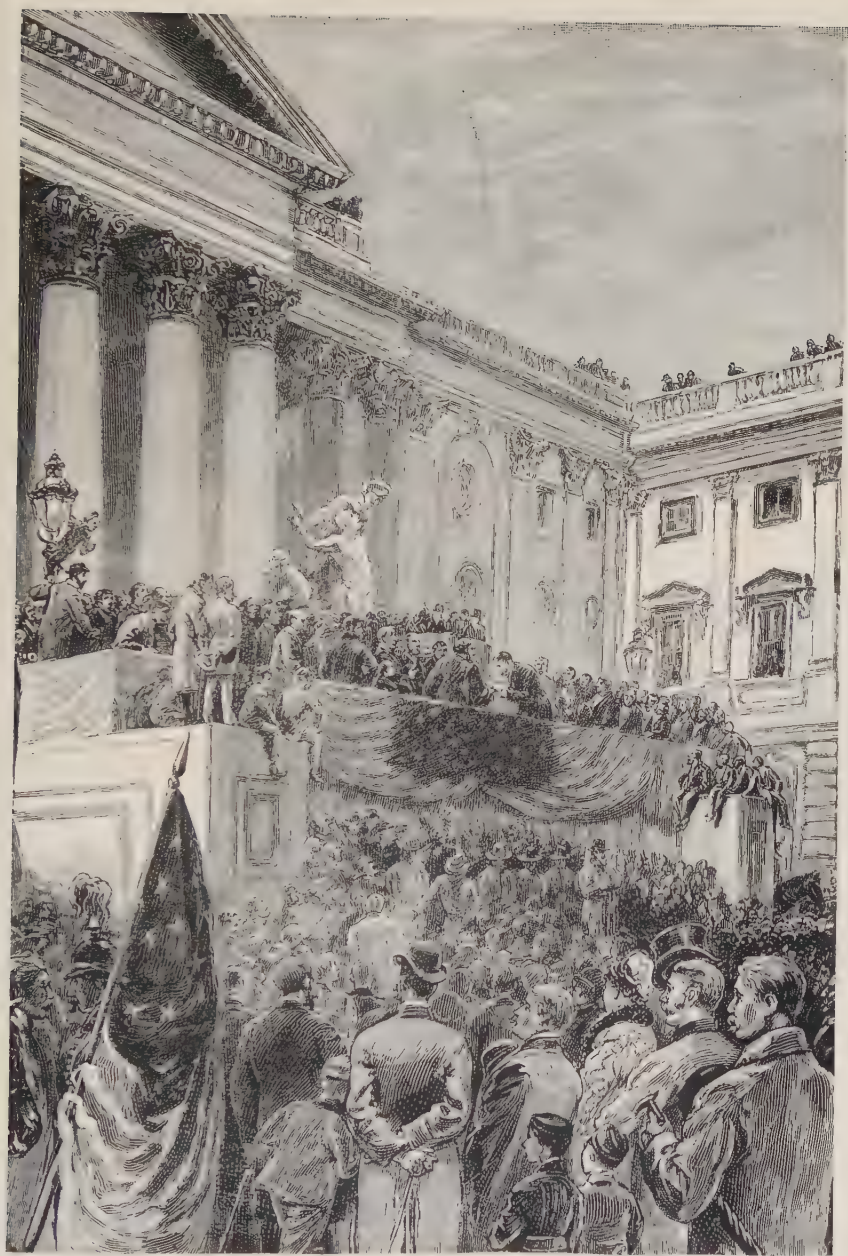
## II

### CONTROVERSY BETWEEN GARFIELD AND CONKLING ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT

The fear of defeat at the polls had drawn the Republican factions together in the campaign, but unfortunately the trouble was soon to break out anew. Garfield, in making up his cabinet, chose Blaine for Secretary of State.<sup>8</sup> This enraged Conkling and set him bitterly against the Garfield administration. Many of Blaine's friends earnestly advised him not to accept the proffered portfolio with the expecta-

<sup>8</sup> The other members were: Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom of Minnesota; Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois; Postmaster General, Thomas L. James of New York; Secretary of the Interior, J. Kirkwood of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt of Louisiana; Attorney General, Wayne McVeagh of Pennsylvania.





INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD ON THE EAST PORTICO OF THE CAPITOL,  
MARCH 4, 1881



tion of circumventing his rival, and warned him that it would be fatal to him and to the administration. In view of the circumstances, both the President and Blaine were criticised as having acted unwisely, the one for offering the appointment and the other for accepting it; and yet it cannot be denied that Blaine was one of the best, if not the best, qualified men in the Republican party for the office. Blaine promised that in the administration of the office he would ignore all differences and would conduct himself so as to bring about reconciliation. This should have satisfied the imperious senator from New York, but he refused to interpret the appointment as anything other than a deliberate attempt to humiliate him, and henceforth there could be only unceasing war between him and the administration.

The appointment of Thomas L. James of New York as Postmaster General against Conkling's wish added further fuel to the flame. Hastening to the President's room upon receiving news of the appointment, Conkling charged back and forth for an hour in his dictatorial manner, accusing the President in the most vituperative language of treachery, falsehood and everything else. But Garfield never lost his temper or dignity, and listened to the whole tirade. He refused, however, to be deterred by Conkling's threats or to allow him to dictate the appointment of those who were to aid him in the discharge of his duties. A few weeks later he loaded the last straw on the camel's back by nominating Mr. Robertson to be collector of the port of New York. Robertson had been one of the seventeen New York delegates who had stood out against Grant in the Chicago convention and was, therefore, a bitter enemy of Conkling. Conkling was now furious, and claimed that he, as one of the senators from New York, had a right to be consulted. Appalled by the threatened schism in the

party, some of the leading Republicans formed a reconciliation committee to establish harmony, if possible.

But Conkling could not be pacified, and proposed to rule or ruin. With his colleague, T. C. Platt, he demanded that the appointment of Robertson should be withdrawn from the Senate and another name sent in that would be acceptable to the New York senators. Garfield felt that if he yielded the entire people would know that Conkling instead of himself was master, and so he refused. Seeing that the nomination of Robertson would be confirmed by the Senate in disregard of "senatorial courtesy," Conkling and Platt petulantly resigned their seats, returned to New York and asked the legislature to endorse their course by a re-election. This the legislature declined to do, and in their places two senators representing the anti-Conkling faction were chosen. This was the end of Conkling's brilliant political career—a career brought to a premature close by his own folly and arrogance. Platt's loss of influence was only temporary, and after a long interval he was again re-elected to the Senate. Garfield had triumphed, but his refusal to defer to Senator Conkling in making his appointments had created a breach in the party. Those who thought and acted with Conkling and Arthur came to be called "Stalwarts"; those who followed Garfield and Blaine were known as "Half-breeds." Much feeling of bitterness existed between the two factions and ugly rumors of all sorts filled the air.

At this juncture the country was thrown into consternation by the assassination of President Garfield. While standing in a railway station at Washington on July 2, waiting for a train to take him to Williams College, he was shot by one C. J. Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker and fanatic, who for months had followed the President seeking an opportunity to murder him. The wounded President

was borne tenderly to the White House, where all that skillful medical treatment could do was done to save his life. For many days anxious crowds watched the bulletin boards and prayed that he might recover. In the hope that the sea air would prove beneficial, he was removed in August to Elberon, New Jersey, but the benefit was only temporary. The nation hoped and waited while the sick President lingered on, but blood poisoning finally set in and on September 19 he died. The body was borne to Cleveland, Ohio, and surrounded by thousands of the President's old friends and admirers was laid to rest in Lakeview Cemetery, September 26. The day of the funeral was observed throughout the country as an occasion of general mourning in response to a proclamation of President Arthur. The people entertained a deep affection for Mr. Garfield, and he was now spoken of as another martyr President. His rise from the humblest of circumstances to the Presidency, his high character as a man and his patriotic course as an officer, and, lastly, his unyielding fortitude during his long sufferings were qualities which endeared him to the masses.

On February 22, by direction of Congress, memorial services were held at the National Capitol in honor of the dead President, and in the presence of the President of the United States, members of Congress, the Supreme judges, the diplomatic corps and other high civil and military functionaries. Mr. Blaine delivered an oration on the life and character of the late chief magistrate. Guiteau was promptly taken into custody, when he is said to have exclaimed, "I am a 'Stalwart' and Arthur will be President," and that the Republican party would be united and the Republic saved. His words went to show that Garfield's assassination was indirectly, at least, a result of the unfortunate dissensions in the party. Subsequently Guiteau stated that he had been inspired of God to do the act and that in "re-



moving" the President to heal the breach in the Republican party he had only done what certain newspapers and politicians had urged. The assassin was promptly arraigned, and after a long trial of several months he was convicted in January, 1882, and hanged. His defense was insanity, and it was pretty well established that this was his real condition, but popular feeling against the assassin was too strong for the jury to disregard, and hence they brought in a verdict of guilty.

### III

ACCESSION OF ARTHUR; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; STAR ROUTE FRAUDS; NEW TARIFF LAW; INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

In the early morning hours of September 20, soon after Mr. Garfield had breathed his last, Mr. Arthur, at his New York home, took the official oath as President, Judge Brady of the State Supreme Court officiating. After accompanying the remains of the dead President to Washington, he was sworn into office in a more formal manner, before the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, on the 22d, and delivered a brief address in which he expressed his sense of the grave responsibilities devolved upon him. "All the noble aspirations," he said, "of my lamented predecessor, which found expression in his life, the measures devised and suggested, during his brief administration, to correct abuses and enforce economy, to advance prosperity and promote the general welfare, to insure domestic tranquillity and maintain friendly and honorable relations with the nations of the earth, will be garnered in the hearts of the people, and it will be my earnest endeavor to profit, and to see that the nation shall profit, by his example and experience." Thus, peacefully and quietly and without shock or strain, did the government again pass from the hands of the elected

President, who had been stricken down, to his constitutional successor. Thus, too, did it pass from the "Half-breed" faction to the "Stalwarts."

During President Garfield's illness Mr. Arthur's position had been a delicate one. For months the President



CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR  
Photograph from life

was unable to discharge his duties, nor did he attempt to do so, except to sign in a mechanical fashion an occasional paper presented to him. The Constitution provides that in case of the inability of the President, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the Vice President. There could be little doubt as to the President's "inability,"

but who was to decide upon it? Mr. Arthur, being a "Stalwart," naturally hesitated lest his motives and intentions would be misunderstood. So things dragged on without any action being taken. During this period Arthur conducted himself with singular discretion, refraining from all part in public affairs, and he had not been President many weeks before he had given evidence of exceptional ability, courage, fairness and dignity. A politician of only local reputation at the time of his nomination, he was as little known to the people of the country at large when he entered upon the Presidency as any man who was ever called to that high position. There was more than the usual anxiety and misgiving, but fortunately Arthur soon allayed all such fears. He refused to administer the government in the interest of the "Stalwarts," but conducted himself as if he were the President of the whole people, and not even Conkling could control him. On the whole his administration was superior to that of any of the previous "accidental" Presidents, and will compare favorably with that of any of those originally chosen to that office.

Soon after his elevation to the Presidency he reconstructed the Cabinet, retaining only one member appointed by Mr. Garfield, Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey succeeded Blaine as Secretary of State and C. J. Folger of New York became Secretary of the Treasury. All of them, except Lincoln, belonged to the Grant faction.

During the first years of the administration the attention of the country was attracted by the discovery of the "star route" frauds in the postal service. In the West, where railroads were few, the transportation of the mails was in thousands of communities by star route (lines on which the mails cannot be carried by railroad or steamboat). A number of high officials, among others T. J. Brady, the

Second Assistant Postmaster General, and S. W. Dorsey, a "carpet-bag" senator from Arkansas, were accused of forming a conspiracy with certain star route contractors to defraud the government. Fictitious petitions numerous signed were gotten up praying for an increase of facilities, and "estimates" largely in excess of actual cost of the service were secured from the contractors. The rascals at Washington got these estimates allowed, and the excess was divided between them and the contractors. The frauds were discovered during the last days of Hayes's term, but it remained for Garfield's Postmaster General, Mr. James, who had already won a national reputation for the vigorous reforms which he had brought about in the New York post office, to break up the conspiracy and expose those who were responsible. Brady and Dorsey were both tried, but acquitted. In fact only one of those who were prosecuted was ever punished, and it is said that he was innocent.<sup>9</sup> Wm. P. Kellogg, a "carpet-bag" senator of Louisiana, was also indicted for receiving money for services rendered in relation to a star route contract, but his case was never brought to trial.

The murder of President Garfield by a disappointed office-seeker and the revelation of fraud and corruption in the public service had created a strong sentiment in favor of some method of civil service reform by which the pernicious spoils system might be done away with or its evils at least diminished. Since the inauguration of the system by President Jackson it had continued to hold full sway at the seat of government. As the volume of government business had grown, the power and evil of the system had increased correspondingly. It enfeebled and corrupted the government service, demoralized the administration, and consumed the time of the President and heads of departments. Appoint-

<sup>9</sup> "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1881, p. 848; *ibid.*, 1882, pp. 753-762; *ibid.*, 1883, p. 777.



ments being bestowed as rewards for party support, with little or no regard to the qualifications of appointees, the official felt that his primary allegiance was due his party rather than his country, and he was expected to labor actively and contribute according to his salary for the success of the party at the elections.

One of its most pernicious features was the growth of a regular system of assessments by which office-holders were required to contribute a certain percentage of their salaries to the party campaign fund. Conditions were so disgraceful when General Grant became President that he took up the matter and induced Congress to pass a law providing for the creation of a civil service commission which was to prescribe a system of competitive examinations for appointments to the public service. Three prominent civil service reformers were appointed, and they adopted a system of rules by which appointments to the lower offices were to be made only on the basis of merit. In 1874, three years after the enactment of the law, Congress refused to appropriate the necessary funds to pay further the expenses of the commission and the work of civil service reform was suspended. President Hayes made repeated efforts to induce Congress to make provision for carrying on the work begun in Grant's administration, without success. The tragic death of Garfield aroused public sentiment on the question of civil service reform, and Congress was forced by public opinion to take action. Soon after Mr. Garfield's death Senator George H. Pendleton of Ohio, the leader of the Greenback party in the Democratic convention of 1868, brought forward a civil service bill along the lines of that of 1871.

At first it was opposed by the Republicans, but losing the House of Representatives in the congressional elections of 1882, they interpreted this as a popular rebuke, fell into



line and gave their support to the measure. It was finally passed by an almost unanimous vote in January, 1883, and with some modifications and enormous extensions, which now cover practically every office, except consuls, which could be put under the law, is still in force. Following the Act of 1871 it authorized the President to appoint three civil service commissioners, who were to prescribe rules for admission to the public service. It further provided that all employés holding clerical positions at Washington, and clerks in post offices and customs houses where fifty or more persons were employed, should be classified and placed under the civil service rules. Thereafter admission to the service in these offices could be only by competitive examination. Provision was also made for promotion from the lower to the higher positions on the basis of merit, successful candidates were to serve six months on probation before receiving a final appointment, and political assessments were forbidden. Any member of Congress or public official who should solicit or receive political assessments from any person in the employ of the government was liable to a heavy fine or imprisonment, and any employé who should take active part in a political campaign was to be summarily dismissed.

President Arthur was in sympathy with the measure, and he promptly appointed the commissioners and otherwise put the Act into effect.<sup>10</sup> At first applying to a comparatively small portion of the civil service, some 10,000 places, the rules have been extended until they now include about 128,000 positions. Each succeeding President has shown a hearty sympathy with the purpose of the law, and its merits are now fully recognized and appreciated by the American people.

<sup>10</sup> The Commissioners were: Dorman B. Eaton, Leroy D. Thoman, and John M. Gregory.

Next to the Civil Service Act the most important legislative measure of Arthur's administration was the tariff Act of 1883. Not since 1864 had there been a general revision of the tariff, although at different times there had been minor Acts making particular changes in existing schedules. As we have already noted, the duties on pig iron, coffee, sugar, tea, and a few other articles not produced in this country had been largely reduced by an Act of 1870, while by an Act of 1872 most of these articles were placed on the free list. On many articles, however, the high duties levied under the war tariff of 1864 were still retained. An increasing dissatisfaction among the Republicans of the West was growing up against the continuance of high duties, and Congress was forced to consider their demands for a revision of the tariff schedule. But it went about the subject gingerly and with timidity. It first created a tariff commission of eight members, consisting mainly of manufacturers and experts, to investigate the subject and report to Congress at the next session what changes, if any, were desirable. The commission made an elaborate investigation, examining many witnesses and taking volumes of testimony. It recommended an average reduction of not less than 20 per cent., and in some cases a reduction of 50 per cent. The Senate prepared a bill embodying most of the recommendations of the commission, and substituted it for the House bill. It was at the close of the session, and the House under pressure accepted the Senate bill as it stood. The bill as finally passed was distinctly a protectionist measure, being less than 4 per cent. lower than the existing schedules. In the case of woolen cloths, cotton goods, iron ore, and steel the rates were even increased; on cheap grades of cotton, pig iron, steel rails, nickel, and copper the duties were reduced; while on agricultural products they were retained unchanged.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See Taussig, "Tariff History," p. 234.

The four years of Garfield and Arthur's administration were an era of good feeling and of industrial progress. The census of 1880 showed that the population had increased during the last decade from 38,000,000 to 50,000,000, or  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In 1881 the whole country joined with pride in the centennial celebration of Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, Virginia. The exercises began on October 18, the anniversary of the surrender of the British general, and lasted throughout the week. A number of war vessels of the United States were present in the James River; an oration was delivered by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop of Boston; speeches were made by President Arthur, the Marquis Rochambeau, Baron Steuben, and others; the corner-stone of a centennial monument was laid with impressive ceremonies; while splendid military and naval reviews added to the brilliancy of the fête.

In the same year the International Cotton Exposition was held at Atlanta, at which was exhibited a large variety of agricultural products, live stock, farm machinery, textile manufactures, etc. Most of the Southern States were represented and the legislatures of several of them visited the exposition in a body. Financially it was a success and did much to call attention to the immense and varied undeveloped resources of the South and to create an interchange of ideas and opinions with the people of the North. In 1883 another was held at Louisville, at which there were nearly a



JOHN JAMES AUDUBON  
Painting from life

million admissions. For the purpose of housing the exposition a building covering thirteen acres was constructed at a cost of \$300,000. In 1884 the Cotton Centennial Exposition was held at New Orleans, in commemoration of the shipping of the first bale of cotton to England in 1784. Unlike those which preceded, it was a general exhibition of the natural resources and arts in the southern part of the United States. It was planned and carried out on a scale more vast than had ever been undertaken in the United States or Europe. Congress gave its support to the enterprise by appropriating \$1,000,000 to be used as a loan, and another \$1,000,000 was raised by private subscription or through State aid. By authority of Congress the President appointed commissioners for the several States, and in most of them appropriations were made to provide creditable displays of their products. Several foreign countries likewise made exhibits. The exposition was held in the picturesque Audubon Park, with its great moss-covered live oaks, orange and banana groves, and beds of tropical flowers—sights in themselves to the Northern visitor. It was opened on December 16 in the presence of several Cabinet members and high officials from various States of the Union. The President of the United States, surrounded by a distinguished company at the White House, telegraphed a suitable sentiment and at the proper time pressed a button which set the machinery in motion and formally opened the exposition.<sup>12</sup> The exposition was a great success, and it revealed as nothing had done the marvelous industrial progress of the South since the close of the Civil War. The friendly hospitality which was accorded to the Northern visitors was a subject of general comment, and afforded convincing evidence of the rapid disappearance of the old animosity which had so recently marked the relations of the people of the two sections.

<sup>12</sup> "Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia," 1884, p. 578.



## Chapter XL

### GROVER CLEVELAND AND THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION OF 1884

#### I

CONTEST BETWEEN BLAINE AND CLEVELAND, 1884

**F**OR twenty years—that is to say, since the outbreak of the Civil War—the Republicans had practically controlled the government, and until the period of the Democratic Congress under President Hayes had administered it without restraint or interruption, with the exception of the brief period when the Democrats had a majority of Congress. During this long lease of power it had committed blunders and the taint of the scandals clung to some of the Republican leaders. To many good Republicans the party itself seemed to be declining in virtue and needed the chastening effect of popular reprimand. In 1874, 1878, and again in 1882 the Democrats had succeeded in electing a majority of the members of the lower House of Congress; now they were to elect the President, and continue also their supremacy in the lower House.

The preliminary work of selecting the candidates of both parties took place at Chicago in June and July, 1884. The Republican convention met on July 2. There was the usual number of candidates, but the overwhelming sentiment of the convention was in favor of Mr. Blaine. President Arthur had a respectable following, second only to Blaine, but it was not customary to nominate Vice Presidents who



had succeeded to the Presidency. Besides, he had incurred the displeasure of some of the Republican leaders by reconstructing the Cabinet with Republicans of the Grant faction and by vetoing a river and harbor bill carrying \$18,000,000, which had been passed by large majorities. Nevertheless, it was the opinion of the late Senator Hoar that if Arthur had not made an offensive appointment to the collectorship of the Port of Boston the Massachusetts delegation would have supported him and he would have received the nomination.<sup>1</sup> Strongly opposed to Blaine was an able group of Republicans who favored Senator George F. Edmunds, and who worked hard to bring about his nomination, but to no avail. Blaine was nominated on the fourth ballot, and General John A. Logan, the candidate of Illinois for the Presidency, was nominated for Vice President.



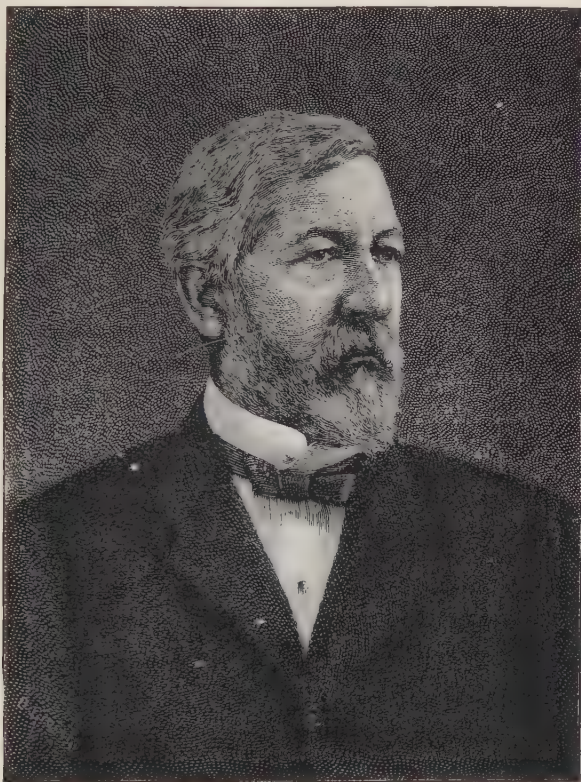
GENERAL JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN  
Photograph from life

Logan was a picturesque man, greatly admired by the old

soldiers, and bore the sobriquet of "The Black Eagle." At the outbreak of the war he was a Democrat of southern Illinois, and it is said hesitated for some time as to whether he should join the Confederate service or that of the United States. His decision, however, was on the side of the Union, and he rose to be one of the ablest volunteer commanders on the Federal side. After the war he served in both houses of Congress and was known as a forceful, earnest speaker.

<sup>1</sup> Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 406.

The announcement of Blaine's nomination was followed by one of the most extraordinary demonstrations ever witnessed in a convention hall. At last, it was said, the leader of the Republican party had received the nomination which, it was believed, scheming politicians had denied him in 1876 and



JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE

Photograph by Bogardus

again in 1880. A small, though respectable, minority of the party, however, were filled with disgust, and they promptly announced that they would not support the ticket. The leader of this group was George William Curtis, the noted orator, champion of civil service reform and man of letters, who

remarked, "I was at the birth of the Republican party and I fear I am to witness its death." There was no question as to Blaine's ability. With only brief interruptions he had been in public life since 1862. He had served in both houses of Congress with distinguished credit, and for six years he had presided over the House of Representatives as Speaker, and it was commonly asserted that he filled the office with greater ability than any of his predecessors since the establishment of the government. His mastery of parliamentary law, his rapid dispatch of business, his thorough understanding of the legislative history of the country, his imposing personal appearance and charming manner, his physical endurance, which was an important qualification when turbulent all-night sessions were frequent, as they were during the reconstruction period and the years that immediately followed, equipped him in a rare degree for the duties of this difficult position.

As a speaker he was magnetic and powerful, and as a leader his preëminence was acknowledged. There was, however, about his skirts a taint of the kind which had involved many of the Republican leaders during the evil days of reconstruction and immediately following. This was the charge that he had accepted stock in certain Western railway and mining companies in return for his influence in securing favorable legislation for the said companies. The charges had been investigated by Congress, and a very dramatic scene had occurred on the floor when Mr. Blaine, standing at the clerk's desk, held high a bundle of private letters which were said to contain the evidence of his guilt, and exclaimed, "I now invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read those letters." The accusations were disproved to the satisfaction of Mr. Blaine's friends, but there were many who did not feel so thoroughly convinced. To the more punctilious there was at

least evidence that Blaine had not acted with that high sense of official propriety which should characterize those in public life, although there was no evidence of evil motive. It was clear, therefore, that he could not make a good reform candidate, and many of his friends predicted from the first that he would be defeated.

The Democratic national convention met at Chicago, July 8. "All Democrats and conservative citizens irrespective of past associations and differences who desired to join in the effort for pure, economical and constitutional government" had been invited to send delegates. This was an appeal to those Republicans who had announced their intention of bolting from Blaine and who had already made overtures to the Democrats to nominate a man in whom they could place their confidence. Public opinion in the Democratic party had already selected that man, and on the second ballot he was nominated. He proved to be Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York. His closest rival, Governor Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The Democratic nominee for President was not entirely unknown to the country, although this was his first appearance in the arena of national politics. Born in New Jersey in 1837, he was taken in early life by his father, a Presbyterian clergyman, to Fayetteville, New York. Here young Cleveland secured employment in a store at a few dollars a week and at the same time managed to attend the village school. Moving to Clinton, New York, he finished his course in the academy, and in his seventeenth year became a clerk and assistant teacher in an institution for the blind in New York City. In the following year he left the metropolis and started West to seek more lucrative employment. Attracted by the name, it was his intention to go to Cleveland, Ohio, but he was induced to stop at Buffalo,



where he secured a clerkship in a law office at a salary of four dollars per week. Three years later he was admitted to the bar and soon afterward was appointed assistant district attorney of the county. Continuing his law practice without interruption until 1870, he was in the latter year elected



GROVER CLEVELAND  
Photograph from life

sheriff of Erie County. After the expiration of his three years' term he returned to his practice, which he had been glad to lay aside to take the office of sheriff.

In 1881 Cleveland was elected mayor of Buffalo by a large majority and soon won the good opinion of the citizens



by his firm stand against all measures involving questionable or extravagant expenditure of the public money. He used his veto power so fearlessly and frequently to check bad legislation as to win the title of "Veto Mayor." In the first half year of his term he is said to have saved the city nearly \$1,000,000 by the use of his negative. His economical and honest administration attracted wide attention, and before he had held the office one year he was nominated by the Democratic party and elected governor over the Republican candidate, Judge Folger, by the unprecedented plurality of 193,000 votes. As governor he pursued the same economical, business-like, policy which he had followed as mayor of Buffalo. Against the wishes of 99 per cent. of the people he vetoed a bill to compel the New York City Elevated Railway Company to reduce its fare from ten cents to five cents, on the ground that such a law involved the impairment of the obligation of a contract and a breach of faith. Likewise he vetoed a bill granting public money to sectarian schools, thus estranging the great masses of his Catholic supporters. He defied the Tammany leaders in the legislature and thus made still more enemies. Undoubtedly here was a governor who possessed courage. Other important bills he likewise vetoed, and while they cost him some friends they won the admiration of many more. Said General Bragg of Wisconsin, speaking for Cleveland at a later time, "The people love him most for the enemies he has made." It was admitted on all hands that he would be a strong candidate, although in truth he was little more than a country lawyer with no special knowledge of statecraft or of national policies. Two other candidates were also in the field. They were John P. St. John of Kansas, the nominee of the Prohibitionist party, and General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, the Greenback-Labor candidate. They cut little

figure in the campaign, however, neither receiving a single electoral vote.

Nominally, at least, the chief issue of the campaign was the tariff question, the Republicans advocating duties high enough to protect the American manufacturer and laborer, the Democrats pronouncing for a "reform" of the existing schedule. But the personal issue was really the only question involved. Never was a campaign marked by more bitter personal denunciation of the candidates. Mr. Blaine belonged to the old school of statesmen who had been associated with the measures of reconstruction; the charge of ill-gotten securities hung to him; while many, overlooking his qualities as a statesman, saw in him only a politician and an enemy of reform. Cleveland, on the other hand, was in national affairs unknown and without record, while his aggressive, courageous administration as mayor of Buffalo and governor of his State attracted large numbers of business men and persons interested in civil service reform. Shortly after Cleveland's nomination the Independents, or "Mugwumps," as they now came to be called, issued an address calling upon their followers to support the Democratic candidates. The response was enthusiastic, and this determined Blaine's fate. Among the prominent Republicans who entered actively into the canvass against Blaine were Carl Schurz, George William Curtis and Henry Ward Beecher. The eminent character of these leaders who refused to be deterred by the stigma of "Mugwump," sneeringly applied to them by their old associates, attracted thousands of Republicans to the Cleveland ranks.

Several other incidents of the campaign cost Blaine many votes. One of these was the "Burchard episode," as a result of which he lost a portion of the Irish Catholic vote which he alone of Republicans by reason of his Catholic parentage could obtain. A delegation of Protestant clergy-

men having called on Mr. Blaine at the Fifth Avenue Hotel congratulated him on his nomination, after which one of their number, Dr. Burchard, addressed Blaine and referred to the Democratic party as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." To this insult to the Catholics Blaine, in his reply, made no reference, leaving the impression that it met his approval. The Democrats turned the omission to good account. Dr. Burchard's phrase was printed on small cards and handed out to members of various Catholic congregations the Sunday before the election, too late to permit the Republicans to circumvent it.<sup>2</sup> But the whole affair was ridiculous, and illustrates the ingenious and also the disgraceful methods of some of our political campaigns. Of all men in public life Blaine was probably the last one who would have made a disrespectful allusion to the Catholic religion. This was the faith in which his mother had lived and died, and he had previously declared that he would not for a thousand Presidencies say a disrespectful word of it. Still another incident, scarcely less ridiculous, but which it is believed by many injured Blaine's chances, was his attendance upon a banquet at Delmonico's at which Jay Gould and other millionaires were present. Democratic newspapers described the affair as "Belshazzar's feast," and it was even rumored that Mr. Gould had at the dinner drawn a large check for the benefit of the Republican campaign fund.

Throughout the canvass Cleveland remained quietly at home and left others to do the campaigning. Not so with Blaine. After making a thorough canvass of his own State in the hope that he might carry it by a large majority at the September election, so as to show the country the magnitude of his popularity at home, he entered upon an extended Western tour of speech-making. Starting from the East in August he traveled through New York, Ohio, Indiana,

<sup>2</sup> Crawford, "Life of Blaine," p. 570.

Illinois, Michigan and West Virginia for five weeks, making from ten to fifteen speeches a day to large and enthusiastic crowds. It was in every way a remarkable tour, and Blaine's reception was as flattering as any ever received by a political candidate, but it is doubtful if many votes were gained thereby.

The vote of New York, the pivotal State, decided the presidential contest. Cleveland carried the State by the small plurality of 1,147, in a total of nearly 1,000,000 votes, and was elected President. He carried also Connecticut, New Jersey, Indiana, and the solid South. The electoral vote stood: Cleveland, 219; Blaine, 182. The popular vote was: For Cleveland, 4,874,986; for Blaine, 4,851,981.<sup>3</sup> General Butler received 175,000 votes and Mr. St. John 150,000. Blaine's defeat by so narrow a majority after so long a struggle for the Presidency was pathetic. A change of six hundred votes in New York State would have made him President. Grave charges were made by the Republicans of frauds in Brooklyn (it was asserted that the Butler vote here was counted for Cleveland), and the conviction of John Y. McKane ten years later, they assert, established the Republican contention that Blaine and not Cleveland had carried New York, and was consequently elected President. But as the Republicans in the contest of 1876 had planted themselves squarely on the doctrine that Congress had no power to go behind the returns, they were now estopped from contesting Cleveland's election.

Blaine was sorely disappointed at the outcome. He felt, like Clay, that his party had begrudged him the nomination when victory was certain, and had tardily conceded it when defeat was likely. In other respects his struggle for the Presidency was comparable to that of the great Whig chieftain. Both were the acknowledged leaders of their

<sup>3</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 448.



party, both were idolized by the great body of their parties, both were men of magnetic personalities, and both cherished ardent ambitions for the Presidency. For twenty years both were candidates, but neither was ever honored more than once by his party with the nomination and then each was beaten by defections in the pivotal State. The very fates seemed to work against Blaine in New York. The Prohibitionist ticket drew more heavily from the Republicans than from the Democrats, while the "Mugwump" defection was large and influential in that State. Of the great New York daily papers the *Times*, the *Sun*, the *Post*, the *Herald*, and the *World* all supported Cleveland, leaving only the *Tribune* and the *Mail and Express* to advocate Blaine's election. Finally Blaine's chances in New York were injured by the attitude of Conkling, his old enemy. As we have seen, Conkling had prevented Blaine's nomination in 1876 and again in 1880. Having failed to do so in 1884, he now sulked like the Homeric warrior in his tent and refused to take any part in the campaign. On account of his great influence in New York, some have asserted that had he opened his mouth or raised his finger in the interest of the ticket, he could still have turned the tide in Blaine's favor. But he did not stir.

## II

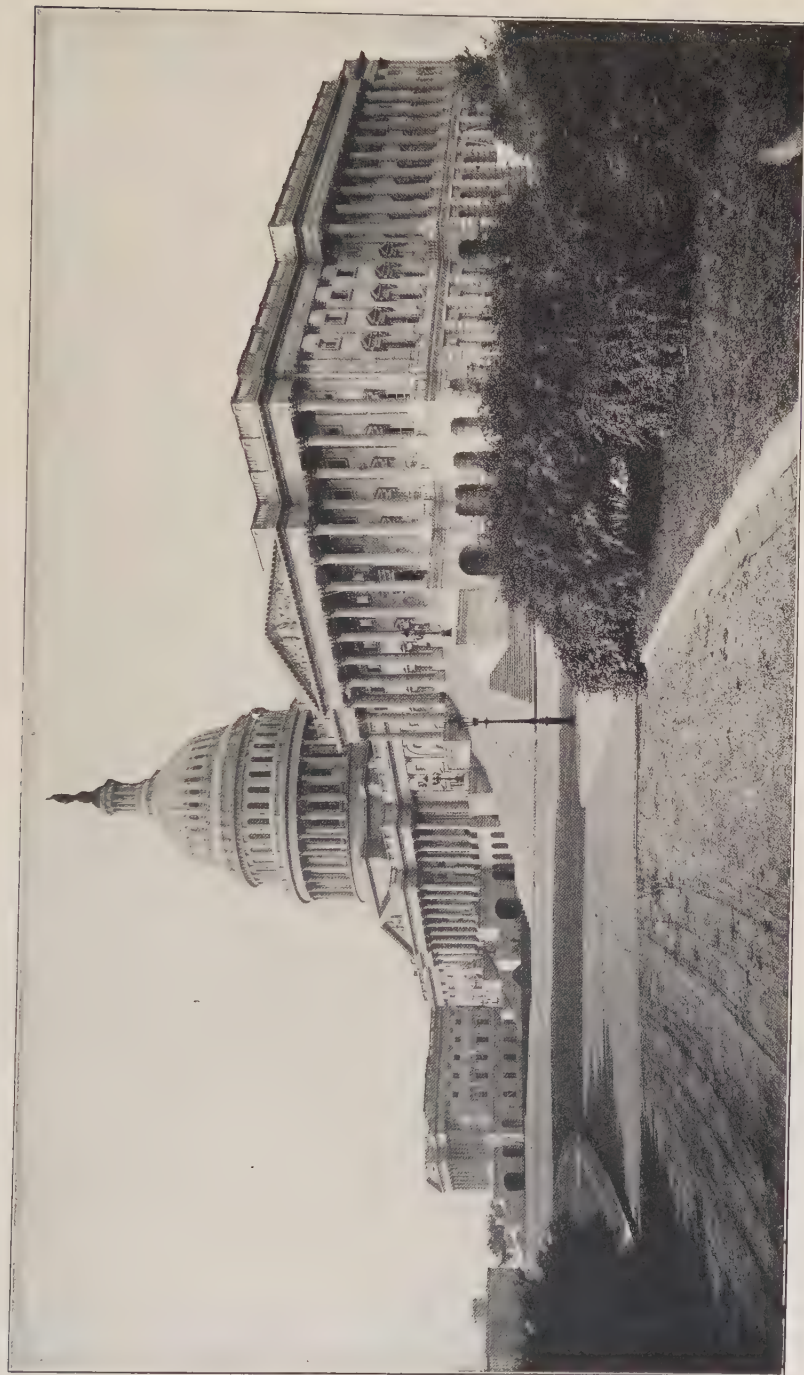
### THE DEMOCRATS IN POWER

So it came to pass that at last the Democrats had won the Presidency, while they retained a majority of the seats in the House of Representatives. But the Senate was still Republican and was able to thwart any partisan measures which the Democrats might attempt to carry through. So long had the Republicans controlled the government that many of them had come to look upon it as theirs by prescriptive right. So often had the Democrats been beaten by the



Republicans that the latter had come to the conclusion that there was no longer any decent reason for the existence of the Democratic party. Some now prophesied the downfall of the Republic under Democratic rule, others foretold financial panics, or saw the restoration of negro slavery. The negroes had this impression, and many are the stories told of credulous blacks in the South who, upon learning of the Democratic triumph, betook themselves to their old masters and asked to be assigned to their quarters. At the North it was said "the South is again in the saddle," the very thing the reconstructionists had feared, and to prevent which they thought they had provided ample security by the bestowal of the suffrage upon the negro. But if the South was "in the saddle," it was the new South and not the old. It showed little desire to deprive the negro of his civil rights, or to withhold pensions from needy and deserving Union soldiers and sailors, or to reverse in any particular the conditions brought about by the Civil War. All these things were necessarily accepted, and it is needless to say that with their party in practical control nothing was done to reverse and none of the expected calamities then came to pass.

Mr. Cleveland resigned the governorship of New York early in January, and on March 4 was inaugurated President of the United States in the presence of about one hundred thousand spectators. Washington, in fact, had never before seen so great a concourse assembled to witness the inauguration of a President. More than half a million visitors were in the city. They came from every part of the country, and especially from the South, for to the people of this section the inauguration of a Democratic President meant the dawn of a new era. And such it was. It meant a definite settlement of the old issues growing out of the Civil War, and that the nation had turned its back upon the past and henceforth was to move forward with hope and



THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.



courage to the future. The inaugural address was received not only with approval, but even with enthusiasm. It urged the people of all parties to lay aside political animosities in order to sustain the government, advocated strict economy in administration, pronounced in favor of the application of business principles to the management of public affairs and declared for the merit system in the matter of appointments. The Cabinet selected by Mr. Cleveland was everywhere pronounced an able one.<sup>4</sup> As a sign of the President's intention to recognize the Southern men as worthy to hold office under the national government, he put two able Southerners in his Cabinet. These were Senators L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, and A. H. Garland, of Arkansas. By the appointment of these popular Southerners to positions in the Cabinet, and by the appointment of many others to stations of less importance, President Cleveland greatly endeared himself to the people of the South, who felt keenly that they had been regarded by his predecessors since the Civil War as unworthy to hold positions of honor or trust under the general government.

But not all were pleased. The President was criticised for not making a "clean sweep" of the thousands of Republicans whom he allowed to retain their positions unmolested. Some of the more impatient impeached his democracy and asserted that he was at heart a Republican. The "Mugwumps" on the other hand, who had supported him on the understanding that he was in sympathy with the principles of Civil Service reform, were dissatisfied that he should make any appointments whatever on the basis of party con-

<sup>4</sup> The Cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning of New York; Secretary of War, William C. Endicott of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney of New York; Attorney General, A. H. Garland of Arkansas; Secretary of the Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi; Postmaster General, William F. Vilas of Wisconsin.

siderations. But the President quietly pursued the even tenor of his way. He believed sincerely in the merit system, but he recognized at the same time that the government which he was called upon to administer was party government. It did not seem to him, therefore, to be contrary to the principles of Civil Service reform to refuse to reappoint Republican officials at the expiration of their term of four years and to put Democrats in their places; to ask for the resignation of Republican officials whose offices brought them into confidential relations with the administration; and to dismiss those who showed a disposition to make use of their positions for partisan purposes.<sup>5</sup> There was a considerable number of removals under the latter head—for “offensive partisanship,” as the phrase coined by the President described it. As the years went by the pressure upon him became so great that he could not resist, and few Republicans not covered by the classified service were left undisturbed. The positions under the Civil Service rules were not interfered with, for Mr. Cleveland enforced the Pendleton Act strictly. But on the other hand he did not extend it as the law permitted. Practically all the Presidential postmasterships, the foreign missions, the revenue collectorships, and the marshalships were given to Democrats. Within three years from the beginning of his term not less than 75,000 Republican office holders had been replaced by Democrats. In exercising his power to remove Republicans Mr. Cleveland soon found himself in conflict with the Senate. This body, it will be remembered, was still Republican, and the old Tenure of Office Act passed in 1867 to prevent Andrew Johnson from removing Lincoln’s appointees was partly in force, although the most objectionable part of it had been repealed in the early days of Grant’s administration. In July, 1885, the President suspended from office a Federal attorney in Alabama. When Congress met,

<sup>5</sup> Woodrow Wilson, “History of the American People,” vol. v p. 178.



the Senate called upon him to lay before that body his reasons for removing the attorney and to communicate certain papers relating to the case. Mr. Cleveland declined to comply with the request of the Senate, saying that in the matter of removing officers of the United States the President, by the Constitution, was responsible to the people alone. The Senate was angry, threatened to hold up his appointments, but finally acquiesced, and the following year Congress under the lead of Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, repealed the remaining provisions of the Tenure of Office Act, leaving the President absolute freedom in removing all officers appointed by him, whether with the consent of the Senate or not. This had been the rule since the days of Washington down to the outbreak of the feud between Congress and President Johnson. The final repeal of the Act in 1887 removed forever from the statute books one of the many pieces of legislation enacted during the reconstruction period for the sole purpose of abridging the constitutional powers of the President.

As President, Cleveland attracted wide attention by the extraordinary use of his veto power. A number of bills providing for the erection of public buildings in various parts of the country failed to receive his approval, as did also a bill for the distribution of seed to drought-stricken communities in Texas. Pension bills were vetoed by the hundred. At this time it was the practice to grant pensions indiscriminately and almost without question to all who had served in the Union army or navy during the Civil War. The new President thought that this was going further than the requirements of gratitude and justice demanded. It seemed to him that the government had done its duty when it gave pensions to the needy veterans who had been actually disabled in the service and when it went further it was misappropriating the public funds. All sorts of stories were told

of fraudulent practices which had occurred in the pension bureau and of fraudulent claims that had been allowed. One man was said to have received a pension on account of having fallen from a wagon while drunk; others who shot away their fingers to escape service were placed on the roll. Those whose applications were disallowed by the bureau carried their cases to Congress and special Acts were passed for their relief. There was little investigation or consideration. The claims were so numerous that investigation and discussion were obviously impossible. As many as two hundred bills were sometimes passed in one hour. Cleveland's predecessors had always signed such bills without question. President Cleveland set his face against the practice and courageously, if sometimes unwisely, employed his veto. At the first session of Congress after his election he vetoed 115 out of 987 bills, most of them being private pension bills. During the four years of his administration he vetoed 301 bills, or more than twice as many as had all the Presidents together from the beginning of the government. His veto messages seem to have been accepted, as only two bills were passed over his head, but when he became President the second time Congress paid little heed to his vetoes if it was worth while to override them. There was of course a great outcry among the veterans against his pension views, and this increased when the President withheld his signature from the Dependent Pension Bill, which allowed a pension of \$12 per month to all who had served in the Civil War as long as ninety days, and all who were dependents of such persons. Cleveland objected that its terms were too uncertain to insure its just and impartial execution; that the honest veterans would prefer not to be treated as objects of charity; and that the measure would entail an enormous and unnecessary expenditure of money for years to come. The veto was sustained by Congress.

## III

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION LAW; ELECTORAL COUNT LAW;  
INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT

President Cleveland's first term was marked by the enactment of three important legislative measures. All still remain on the statute books and are likely to endure as permanently as the Constitution itself. The first was the presidential succession law of January 18, 1886, drafted and reported by Senator Hoar. A general feeling of the necessity for more adequate legislation on this subject had recently been awakened by the death of President Garfield and of Vice President Hendricks, the death of the latter having occurred in the autumn of 1885. By the old law enacted in 1792 the succession in the case of the death of both the President and Vice President would devolve upon the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and then upon the Speaker of the House of Representatives. There were two serious objections to this law. In the first place there were times when there was neither a President *pro tempore* of the Senate nor a Speaker. This was the situation at the time of Garfield's assassination. The old Congress had expired March 4 before the assassination, and the new Congress was not to meet until December following, consequently there was no Speaker, and the Senate which had met in extraordinary session had failed to choose a President *pro tempore*. Had Arthur died between September 19, when he succeeded to the Presidency, and December 7, when Congress met, the country would have been without a President.

A second objection was of a political character and arose from the fact that the party which is in control of the Presidency may not at the same time be in control of the legislative department. Thus at the time of Hendricks'

death the Republicans were in a majority in the Senate. Consequently had Cleveland died in office any time during the last three years of his first term, the Presidency would have devolved upon a Republican, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate. This would have presented an anomalous situation intolerable under a system of party government. President Arthur in his first message recommended a consideration of the serious question touching the succession to the Presidency, and in 1882 the Senate Judiciary Committee prepared a bill to meet the situation. The bill was debated at intervals at each session for several years, during which time it passed the Senate at least twice, but did not secure the concurrence of the House. It was not until January, 1886, that the bill became law. As finally passed it provides that in the event of both the Presidency and the Vice Presidency becoming vacant, the members of the Cabinet shall succeed in the following order, provided they possess the constitutional qualifications for the office: the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior. Whenever a Cabinet officer succeeds to the Presidency he is required to call Congress in extraordinary session in order that it may provide for a new presidential election. This law insures the enjoyment of the Presidency by the party that carried the election and provides, as far as human wisdom can foresee, against every possibility of danger from an interregnum. The second legislative Act, also drafted by Senator Hoar, has reference to the Presidency, its purpose being to provide an effective means of counting the electoral vote in cases of dispute. The lack of such a law, as we have seen, brought the two parties to the verge of civil war in 1876. Ever since that time public opinion had demanded the enactment of a law which would provide a fair and peaceable method of



canvassing the electoral vote. Congress moved tardily, as it always did in those days, and it was not until February, 1887, that a measure was finally matured and enacted into law after long debate and many conferences.

The statute is a comprehensive one, and undertakes to regulate in every detail the procedure of the count. It fixes the time for the meeting of Congress for the purpose of the count at one o'clock p. m. on the second Wednesday in February following the election, designates the place of the meeting, prescribes the organization of Congress while acting as a canvassing board, designates those who shall act as tellers and those who shall open the vote, and prescribes the form in which objections shall be raised to the returns from any State. It provides, furthermore, that whenever an objection is raised to any return the two houses shall separate, deliberate upon the objection, reach their conclusions and reassemble, whereupon the presiding officer shall announce the decision. The rules governing the counting of the returns are briefly as follows: If the State from which a disputed return is sent up has provided a judicial tribunal or other authority for the determination of electoral contests, and the said tribunal has reached a decision as to who are the true electors at least six days before the meeting of the electors, then that return shall be received, provided the votes of these electors have been regularly and lawfully given. In case there is but a single return from any State, that return shall not be rejected, provided the appointment of the electors has been properly certified to and their votes have been regularly given. In case of conflicting returns from any State, and conflicting determinations have been made by State tribunals, each claiming to be the lawful authority, then Congress shall determine who are the true electors. But if the two houses acting concurrently cannot agree, the vote of the State shall not be counted.



In case of conflicting returns from a State in which no determination has been made as to who are the lawful electors, but one of the returns has the certificate of the governor attached thereto, the votes given by such electors shall be counted unless the two houses acting separately decide otherwise. Lastly, if there are two or more returns from a State in which no determination has been reached as to who are the true electors, and neither return has the certificate of the governor, the two houses acting separately are to determine who are the lawful electors. If they cannot agree, the vote of the State shall not be counted. It will be noticed that the pervading principle of the Act is the placing of the responsibility for determining who are the lawful electors of each State upon the State itself, and whenever a determination has been reached through a tribunal created for the purpose, such decision is binding upon Congress. It is only when the State fails to settle for itself the question as to who are its electors that the action of Congress is necessary. The Act has some features that may lead to trouble; it does not cover all possible cases that may arise, but so far as human wit can foretell it is sufficiently comprehensive to remove the dangers of an interregnum, which once seriously threatened the country.<sup>6</sup>

In the same month in which the law for the regulation of the electoral count was passed the Interstate Commerce Act became law. This important measure was the first of a series of Acts designed to bring the railways of the United States under Federal supervision. The more immediate object was the prevention of unfair discrimination in respect to rates, places, and facilities. For the past ten or fifteen years loud complaints had been made that the railway companies were discriminating against the small manufacturers and producers by giving the large shippers cheaper freight rates. The example often quoted was that of the Standard

<sup>6</sup> Burgess, "Political Science and Constitutional Law," vol. ii. p. 237.

Oil Company, which was allowed a large rebate on its shipments, in consequence of which the small refineries found it impossible to compete with their more favored and more powerful rival. These discriminations fell heavily on the small manufacturers, producers, and farmers, particularly in the West, where railroad facilities were greatly limited. In consequence of this dissatisfaction the Granger movement, as we have seen, was started in the West, and in time came to exert a powerful influence on the local politics of the Western and Southern States. Then there was discrimination against places: lower charges for a "long haul" than for a "short haul." Finally, there was the practice of "pooling," by which rival railway companies, to avoid competition and rate-cutting, put their freight earnings into a common fund to be proportionately divided among themselves.

The agitation for legislation against these practices began in President Grant's administration. He recommended an investigation, Congress appointed a committee for the purpose, and under the chairmanship of Mr. Windom, of Minnesota, it made a report in 1874, recommending the enactment of a law to provide some method of Federal supervision. Again in 1886 an investigation was made by a Senate committee under the chairmanship of Senator Culom, of Illinois, and again Federal supervision was recommended as the remedy. Already in 1878 the House had passed a bill, fathered by Mr. Reagan, of Texas, but the Senate took no action. In 1885 both houses passed bills, but it took them two years to agree, and the Act as finally passed in February, 1887, prohibits unreasonable or extortionate charges, or discriminations against persons, places or commodities, forbids greater charges for "short hauls" than for "long hauls,"<sup>7</sup> prohibits competing railroads from

<sup>7</sup> The commission is empowered to suspend this provision whenever in its judgment it might work hardship, as might sometimes happen.

“pooling” their freight traffic or their earnings, and created an Interstate Commerce Commission of five members to be appointed by the President, not more than three of whom shall belong to the same political party. The commission is given power to make investigations and to compel carriers to produce their books and papers and to give testimony. If, upon investigation, the commission finds that the law is being violated, it may order the violators to desist and may award damages to those who may have suffered from their illegal acts. If the order of the commission is disobeyed it may proceed against the railway by injunction or attachment in the Circuit Court of the United States. The commission is also given the power to prescribe for railway companies a uniform system of keeping accounts, and each railroad carrier subject to the Act is required to make an annual report to the commission concerning its capitalization, equipment, business, receipts, expenditures, etc. It should be remembered that the Act applies only to railway carriers who are engaged in interstate commerce, since Congress has no power over railroads wholly within the limits of a State. It should also be borne in mind that the commission is not clothed with power to fix rates, but only to decide what is an unreasonable and unlawful charge.<sup>8</sup>

#### IV

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS: CHINESE EXCLUSION AND NORTHEASTERN FISHERIES; ANARCHIST RIOTS IN CHICAGO

A legislative measure of Mr. Cleveland's administration was an Act passed in 1888 prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States. The beginning of

<sup>8</sup> E. R. Johnson, “American Railway Transportation,” p. 383.

the agitation against the Chinese in the United States has already been described in another chapter. There reference was made to President Hayes's action in 1877 in vetoing a bill to restrict the coming of the Chinese, but there now was a President who had been elected on a party platform which contained a declaration in favor of restriction, and he would not use the veto. Meantime, in 1880, a new treaty had been negotiated with China, which conceded the right to the government of the United States to "regulate, limit or suspend but not to prohibit" the coming of Chinese laborers to this country, or their residence therein whenever such coming or residence should affect the interests of the country. In pursuance of this treaty Congress passed a bill in 1882 suspending the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States for a period of twenty years. The President vetoed the bill on the ground that restriction for so long a period was prohibition and in conflict with the spirit of the treaty and unjust to China. Congress thereupon modified the Act so as to make the period of suspension ten years, and in this form the bill was approved. But simple suspension for a limited period did not satisfy the California labor unions. They wanted further restrictions and they clamored for an Exclusion Act.

As the presidential campaign of 1888 approached it began to look as if California's electoral vote would go to the candidate whose party was most in favor of exclusion. At this juncture, therefore, an Act was hastily passed by Congress absolutely prohibiting the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States, in plain violation of the treaty between the two countries. President Cleveland refused to sign the Act, but allowed it to become law without his signature, justifying his action by the failure of China to ratify a treaty which had just been negotiated for placing substantial restrictions upon the right of Chinese laborers



lawfully in the United States to depart and return.<sup>9</sup> This was the first time in the history of the United States that the government had, in appearance at least, violated its treaty obligations with a foreign power. However, the United States was not without provocation. Any nation has unquestioned right to exclude from its dominions the immigration of foreigners whom it deems to be detrimental to the interests of its own people. In this case the nation whose subjects were pouring into the United States refused to consent through treaty stipulation to the exclusion of its undesirable population, and so nothing was left but to prohibit their coming by statute.

Two other incidents in the foreign relations of the United States during this period deserve notice. One referred to an inter-oceanic canal concession and the other to the fishery dispute with Great Britain. During the last months of President Arthur's administration a treaty had been concluded with Nicaragua, by the provisions of which a canal was to be constructed by the United States through Nicaraguan territory connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The canal was to be owned jointly by the two powers. The United States also stipulated to protect the integrity of the territory of Nicaragua. When Cleveland became President the treaty was still before the Senate unratified. Shortly thereafter he withdrew it from the Senate for further consideration, and never returned it. In his annual message of December 8, 1885, he declared his intention not to re-submit the treaty, saying that he adhered to the tenets of a long line of precedents from Washington's day, which proscribe entangling alliances with foreign states and that he did not favor a policy of acquisition of new and distant territory. Furthermore, he affirmed that any canal constructed across the Isthmus must be for the world's benefit,

<sup>9</sup> Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 301.



a trust for mankind, to be removed from the chance of domination by any single power.<sup>10</sup>

The controversy with Great Britain touching the question of the Northeastern fisheries was the most serious foreign difficulty that arose during Cleveland's administration. By the treaty of independence with Great Britain in 1783 the right was conceded to the citizens of the United States to take fish on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and other places, as well as the liberty of taking fish on the British American coasts, and of drying and curing fish in certain harbors, bays, creeks, etc. The British Government contended that the treaty granting these concessions was abrogated by the War of 1812, although the government of the United States vigorously denied it, insisting that this treaty was one of those permanent international agreements whose validity is never affected by the subsequent outbreak of hostilities between the contracting parties. Whatever were the facts as to this point, the difference was temporarily settled by a convention concluded in the year 1818. By this convention the United States renounced the right to take fish within British waters of northeastern America, with certain exceptions, and also the right to dry and cure the same on British coasts, with certain exceptions. But American fishermen were to be permitted to enter the creeks, bays and harbors of the British dominions for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages, purchasing supplies, obtaining bait, and the like.

In the course of the years that followed various disputes arose as to the interpretation of those provisions of the treaty relating to concessions and restrictions. Finally they were again temporarily settled by the reciprocity treaty of 1854, according to which, it will be remembered, reciprocal privileges of fishing in the waters of each country were

<sup>10</sup> "Foreign Relations, 1885," p. 5.

granted the inhabitants of the other, and a considerable number of British products were allowed to be imported into the United States free of duty or at rates lower than those of the general tariff schedule. This treaty was in force twelve years, when it expired by limitation. The controversy was therefore revived, but it was for the third time temporarily set at rest by the treaty of Washington of 1871. The British Government, in the meantime having raised the claim that the fishery privileges which the United States had enjoyed under the reciprocity treaty exceeded in value those granted the subjects of Great Britain, induced the United States to consent to the insertion of a provision in the treaty of 1871 for the submission to arbitration of the question of Great Britain's claim for compensation for the excessive privileges. This tribunal of arbitration, as has been pointed out in another chapter, in 1877 awarded the British Government the extraordinary sum of \$5,500,000, an allowance so excessive as to cause general dissatisfaction in the United States, in consequence of which the government gave notice of its intention to terminate the treaty on July 1, 1885.

Various efforts were then made to reach some agreement with regard to fishery privileges, but without avail. Meanwhile American fishing smacks were being seized by the Canadians, to meet which, Congress, by an Act of March 3, 1887, authorized the President to adopt measures of retaliation. A little later the two governments united in creating a joint commission of six persons of distinguished ability to prepare a treaty for the settlement of the questions at issue.<sup>11</sup> The commission met at Washington in the

<sup>11</sup> The members of the commission were: For the United States, Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard, President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, and Hon. W. L. Putnam, of Maine; for Great Britain, Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, of Canada, and Sir Lionel Sackville West, the British minister at Washington.

autumn of 1887 and, after laboring three or four months, finally concluded an agreement known as the Bayard-Chamberlain treaty. The treaty was, however, regarded as having yielded too much to the British, and was rejected by the Senate. At the time of the conclusion of the treaty the British commissioners offered a temporary arrangement, or *modus vivendi*, pending ratification. This agreement was accepted by the American commissioners, and after the rejection of the treaty it was renewed and has since continued to constitute the fishery arrangement between the two countries.<sup>12</sup>

The domestic tranquillity of the country throughout the four years of Mr. Cleveland's administration was interrupted only by a few labor disturbances and an anarchist riot in Chicago. The order known as the Knights of Labor, organized a few years before, had now attained a membership of over half a million and was playing an important part in determining the relations between capital and labor. It advocated equal rights for women, common ownership of land, government ownership of public utilities and other socialistic policies. In the year 1886, in consequence of the dismissal of an employé of the Texas Pacific Railroad, the executive authority of the order directed a strike of the employés.

The strike soon spread to other roads and led to serious interference with travel and traffic throughout a great part of the Southwest. In St. Louis the disorders were so great that Federal troops had to be called out to preserve the peace. Several bloody riots occurred, a number of persons were killed, and a large amount of property was destroyed. About the same time a strike of workmen occurred in Chicago in furtherance of a movement to secure the adoption of an eight-hour labor day. The usual dis-

<sup>12</sup> Snow, "Topics in American Diplomacy," p. 467.

turbances followed, in the course of which several workmen were shot by police or Pinkerton detectives.

On the evening of May 5 following, an indignation meeting of laboring men was held in Haymarket Square to protest against the acts of the police, and a number of incendiary addresses were delivered by anarchists and others. While one of the most violent of the speakers, Samuel Fielden by name, was delivering a harangue on the tyranny



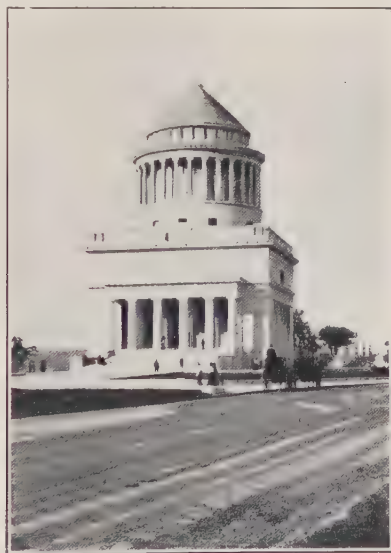
JOHN P. ALTGELD  
Photograph from life

of government and law, a squad of policemen forced their way to the speaker's stand and commanded him to desist. At this juncture a dynamite bomb was thrown among the police, killing seven of their number and wounding many others. A storm of indignation burst out and the country was aroused for the first time to the danger of the anarchist element in the large cities, where most of them had congregated. Seven of those concerned in the Haymarket affair were convicted and

sentenced to death. The sentences of two of them, Schwab and Fielden, were commuted to life imprisonment; four, Engel, Spies, Parsons and Fischer, were hanged, and one, Lingg, committed suicide in prison while awaiting the gallows. Two of those who were hanged were editors of sheets devoted to anarchistic propaganda. A few years afterward Governor Altgeld brought upon himself widespread criticism by pardoning the anarchists still in prison. He insisted that they had not been given a fair trial, that

there was no evidence that they had thrown the bomb, that the jury had been "packed" with prejudiced men and that the judge had not conducted the trial in a judicial manner.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> It was during Mr. Cleveland's term that the country was called upon to mourn the death of ex-president Grant. After his retirement from the Presidency he had engaged in business in New York city, but on account of the dishonesty of the firm with which he was connected the business failed and the General was financially ruined. He then set to work writing his "Memoirs," to provide means for the support of his family, whom he expected soon to leave behind. Suffering from an incurable cancerous trouble, he continued his work under great difficulties until a few days before his death, which occurred at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, on July 23, 1888. The whole nation, South as well as North, united in mourning his loss and in paying tribute to his character. Southern legislatures passed resolutions of praise, Southern newspapers spoke of his great qualities as a man and a soldier, Southern commanders in the late war praised his magnanimity and kindness of heart. On August 8 his remains, accompanied by the most splendid funeral pageant ever witnessed in America, were laid to rest in Riverside Park on the banks of the Hudson in the upper part of the city of New York. There over his tomb the people of the United States have erected the most stately mausoleum that has ever been built to mark the resting place of any American.



GRANT'S TOMB, RIVERSIDE DRIVE  
NEW YORK



## Chapter XLI

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON. 1888-1892

#### I

#### DEFEAT OF CLEVELAND

THE ascendency of the Democrats in 1884 was destined to be short-lived. The issue which led to their defeat in the elections of 1888 was the tariff question, which, as has been said, was purposely made the issue by Mr. Cleveland. At this time there was a large surplus in the national treasury, which led the President to conclude that more revenue was being collected from the taxpayers than an economical administration of the government required. The traditions of the Democratic party were all in the direction of a low tariff, and, as a whole, they protested against the continuance indefinitely of the high duties which had been levied to carry on the war. There was, however, a small but influential group of Democrats, of whom Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was the leader, who favored protective duties, and until now they had kept the Democratic House from taking a positive stand in favor of a tariff for revenue only. But it seemed to Cleveland that the widespread unrest in the labor world as well as the accumulation of more revenues than the government could legitimately expend, afforded indisputable proof that the tariff schedule needed revision in the direction of lower duties. The necessity for protecting infant industries no longer existed, and the new Republican

contention that the continuance of the high tariff was necessary to keep up the wages of the laboring man, he said, was fallacious, because the laboring classes everywhere were loudly complaining that wages were unusually low. It was the manufacturer instead of the laborer, he thought, who was receiving the lion's share of the benefits; it seemed to him, therefore, to be outright favoritism on the part of the government, and favoritism, too, to those who least of all needed it. At the same time it was imposing irritating burdens upon the farmers of the South and West, upon the laborers in the great industrial centers, and in fact upon consumers generally, by increasing the cost of the necessities of life.

So thought the President, and he determined, without consultation with his party associates, to throw down the gauntlet to the Republicans and raise an issue on this score. Accordingly he devoted nearly the whole of his annual message of December 6, 1887, to the subject of the tariff, discussed with his characteristic directness. The imposition upon the people of greater taxes than was necessary for the "careful and economical maintenance of the government," he characterized as "indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice." He denounced the existing tariff law as "vicious, inequitable and illegal"; and declared that whatever artificial advantage was gained by the laborer from a protective tariff was more than offset by the enhanced cost of living. The stubbornness with which the favored beneficiaries of the tariff had resisted all efforts looking toward a revision of the existing schedule had naturally, he said, led to the widespread suspicion that there existed an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage. "The simple and plain duty which we owe to the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government, and

restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers." The question of free trade, he contended, was not involved, and no good could result from a discussion of the theories of protection and free trade. "It is," he said, "a condition which confronts us—not a theory."<sup>1</sup>

Thus did the President of his own initiative make an issue for his party. Undecided, halting, half confused, partly divided among themselves, they fell into line and prepared to force the Republicans to consent to revision or take a positive stand in favor of the continuance of a protective tariff. A measure embodying the views of the President was brought in by Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and in July, 1888, it passed the House of Representatives against the strenuous and united opposition of the Republicans and also against the votes of four Democrats. The Mills Bill attempted a systematic revision of the existing law in the direction of lower rates on raw materials and necessities of life and higher duties on luxuries. It was not a radical measure, but the Republicans loudly denounced it as the very embodiment of free trade fallacies, and when it came up in the Senate it was not only rejected, but a substitute proposing even higher duties than those of the existing law was brought in and favorably reported. Thus did the Republicans take up the gauntlet thrown down by the Democrats, and with this clear-cut issue both parties went to the country for the verdict of the people, in November, 1888.

President Cleveland had been renominated by his party without opposition, and with him Allen G. Thurman, a sturdy old-fashioned Democrat, of Ohio, had been nominated for Vice President. Judge Thurman was a picturesque figure in politics, popularly called the "old Roman,"

<sup>1</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. viii. p. 590.

and possessed wide popularity in the West. With less unanimity the Republicans had nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Levi P. Morton, of New York. Blaine was still the favorite, but while absent in Italy he had declined to allow his name to be presented, saying that he would not go through another contest like that of 1884 even with the certainty of the Presidency at the end of it.<sup>2</sup> He was in Scotland at the time of the meeting of the national convention, and repeatedly did his friends beseech him by cable to allow the use of his name, but he positively declined and even asserted that he would refuse the nomination if it were accorded him. His health was bad and he was already suffering from the malady which four years later ended his earthly career. Other prominent candidates who received strong support in the convention were John Sherman, of Ohio, Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, and Russell A. Alger, of Michigan. After seven ineffectual ballots, General Harrison was nominated. Sherman afterward charged that he was beaten by intrigue, and that Harrison had secured the support of the New York delegation by pledges made through his friends.<sup>3</sup>

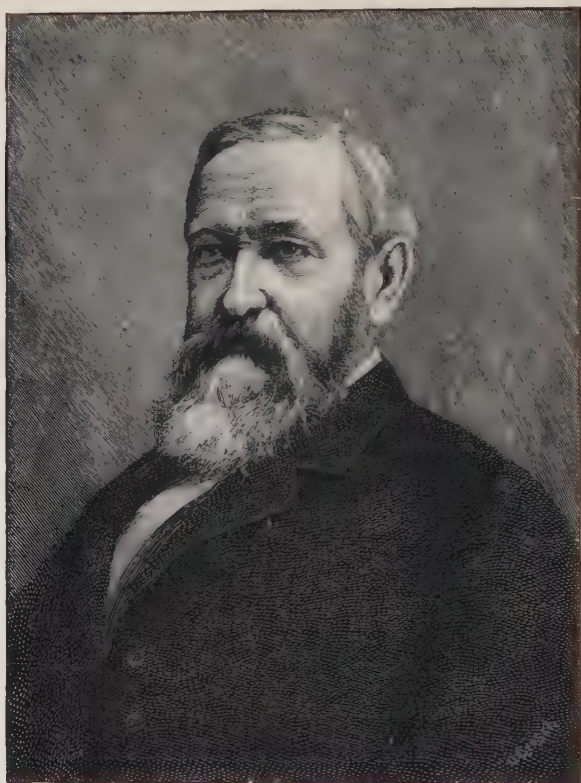
Benjamin Harrison was a grandson of President William Henry Harrison and great-grandson of that Benjamin Harrison who signed the Declaration of Independence and was a member of the first Continental Congress. He had served through the Civil War with credit, attaining the rank of brevet brigadier general for gallantry in Sherman's north Georgia campaign. He had never played a prominent part in national politics, although he had served one term as a member of the United States Senate. One of the foremost lawyers of the country, possessing an acute, penetrating and analytical mind, a forcible speaker, with an

<sup>2</sup> Crawford, "Life of Blaine," p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> John Sherman, "Recollections," vol. ii. p. 1029.



unimpeachable record, enjoying great popularity in Indiana, a pivotal State, and with the prestige of a historic name, he proved to be a strong candidate. The minor parties, Prohibitionists, Labor, Farmers' Alliance, and others, had



BENJAMIN HARRISON  
Photograph from life

candidates in the field, but their strength was too inconsiderable to affect the result.

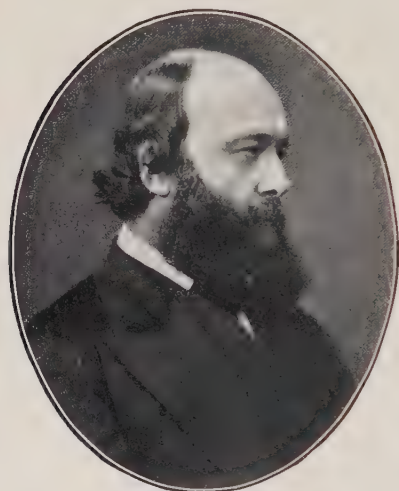
The paramount issue was, as has been said, the tariff question. The Democratic platform endorsed Cleveland's tariff message and approved the Mills Bill. The Republicans condemned both as injurious to the business and labor interests of the country and pronounced unequivocally in



favor of the "American system of protection." In answer to the Democratic demand for a reduction of the revenues they proposed a reduction of internal revenue taxes, but insisted that the protective system should remain untouched. The campaign which now ensued was not marked by any extraordinary or unusual features, but it was conducted on a much higher plane than that of 1884. There was no such scathing personal denunciation of the candidates, and with a single exception no undignified, unclean methods. It was rather a campaign of education, each side endeavoring to prove by arguments the consistency of its own views with the teachings of sound political economy and practical expediency. Both candidates remained quietly at home and refused to make campaign tours through the country. General Harrison received delegation after delegation at his residence in Indianapolis, to each of which he delivered an address of welcome. Altogether he made ninety-four speeches, which for felicitousness, tactfulness, dignity and force were probably never surpassed by the offhand deliverances of any political candidate in the history of the country. Not one of them contained anything that embarrassed his candidacy or called for an apology or needed explanation, and, altogether, they made a very favorable impression, particularly in the East, where General Harrison was not well known.

An incident of the campaign, which is believed to have cost Mr. Cleveland many votes, was a piece of Republican trickery which resulted in the summary dismissal of Lord Sackville, the British minister to the United States, for expressing an opinion on the probable attitude of the presidential candidates toward the mother country. One "Murchison," of California, whose real name was Osgoodby, wrote to Lord Sackville, representing himself to be a naturalized American citizen of English origin, and solicited his advice

as to how he should vote in the approaching election. To his request for enlightenment the minister replied, saying: "You are probably aware that any political party which openly favored the mother country at the present moment (Anglo-American relations were somewhat strained on account of the fishery dispute) would lose popularity, and that the party in power is fully aware of the fact. The party, however, is, I believe, still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain," etc. The Republicans held



MARQUIS OF SALISBURY  
Photograph from life

back this correspondence until a few days before the election, when it appeared in all the principal newspapers of the country and in millions of handbills. The publication of the letter created a great commotion in political circles, and Cleveland was at once called the "British candidate." Convinced that something must be done to check the tide against him, he decided to get rid of the ambassador on the ground that he had interfered in the political affairs of the country

to which he was accredited. The British Government was therefore informed that Lord Sackville was *persona non grata* and his recall requested. This request Lord Salisbury denied, and thereupon the President sent the ambassador his passports and suspended further intercourse with him. The British Government showed its resentment by leaving Lord Sackville's post vacant during the remaining months of the existing administration. The President's action was criticised as demagogic and headstrong, while it was defended by

others on the ground that Lord Sackville was guilty of gross impropriety in thus interfering in the election campaign. It is, of course, impossible to say what influence the affair had upon the results of the election, but there is probably little doubt that it was unfavorable to Mr. Cleveland.

Whatever the facts may have been, Harrison was elected, receiving 233 electoral votes as against 168 for Cleveland, although the latter received about 250,000 more of the popular vote than did his opponent. The only Northern States carried by Cleveland were Connecticut and New Jersey. Both Indiana and New York, which he had carried in 1884, were lost by the Democrats. The failure to carry New York was due mainly to the defection of Tammany Hall from Mr. Cleveland, David B. Hill, the Tammany nominee for governor, being easily elected over his Republican opponent. Besides the Presidency, the Republicans controlled both houses of Congress by small majorities. Great was the exultation of the Republicans over their victory, and all over the land campaign revellers could be heard singing:

“Down in the cornfield  
Hear that mournful sound;  
All the Democrats are weeping—  
Grover’s in the cold, cold ground.”

## II

THE M'KINLEY TARIFF LAW; THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST AND SILVER ACTS; THE DEMOCRATIC "LANDSLIDE" OF 1892

The Republicans quickly interpreted their victory at the polls as *carte blanche* from the people to proceed with the fulfillment of their declarations and pledges with regard to the tariff. The Ways and Means Committee, of which William McKinley of Ohio, was chairman, prepared a new tariff bill with highly protective features, and it passed the House in May, 1890, after only two weeks of debate. The Senate held it up for consideration for three or four months, and finally altered it to such extent as to require the intervention of a conference committee before an agreement could be reached. As finally passed it was the highest protective measure ever known in American history—much higher in fact than many of the Republicans considered to be necessary or wise. It placed sugar on the free list, and as a protection to the domestic sugar growers allowed them a bounty of two cents a pound on both beet and cane sugar of a certain standard. An important provision of the law was that which enacted that certain articles, such as sugar, molasses, coffee, hides and tea, should be admitted free of duty, provided the country from which they were imported admitted free of duty products from the United States. The President was authorized to impose a duty on these articles whenever the countries from which they were imported refused reciprocal free rates to our products.<sup>4</sup> The McKinley tariff law aroused tremendous opposition among the Democrats in the South and West, and even some prominent Republicans, like Blaine, attacked it.<sup>5</sup> Its enactment was

<sup>4</sup> Taussig, "Tariff History," pp. 251-283.

<sup>5</sup> Dodge, "Life of Blaine," p. 685.

promptly followed by an increase of prices of many of the necessities of life and a curtailment of American trade with foreign countries.

While the McKinley Bill was going through Congress, extraordinary scenes were taking place in the House of Representatives. The House as elected was Republican by a majority of only three members, and it had chosen for Speaker, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, a man of unusual force of character and brilliancy of intellect and a skilled parliamentarian of resource and firmness. Up to this time the right of the minority to obstruct the procedure of the House in at least two ways had always been recognized. These were by refusing to vote for the purpose of breaking a quorum and by interposing dilatory motions, such as motions to adjourn, to fix a day to which the House should adjourn, and the like. This obstructive procedure was regarded as a fair and just privilege of the minority, notwithstanding it sometimes led to a complete hold-up of legislative business.

Thus, in 1889, when Carlisle, of Kentucky, was Speaker, one member kept the House engaged in roll calls for eight days in an effort to secure consideration of a bill to organize the Territory of Oklahoma. During the debate on the Force Bill, in 1875, the Democrats sat in their seats and refused to vote, and thus broke the quorum. Some of the Republicans protested that members who were present and



THOMAS BRACKETT REED  
Photograph from life



refused to vote ought to be counted, but the Speaker, James G. Blaine, ruled that the Chair could not declare a quorum, unless it was shown by a yea and nay vote, and he contended that any departure from the old rule would lead to dangers unforeseen. As a result the House had sunk into a condition of inanity, and representative government was coming to an end. Mr. Reed, fully alive to this evil situation, had no such scruples nor any regard for the old and ruinous precedents. It seemed to him ridiculous that the minority should have more power by neglecting its duty than by performing it, and that members should be considered as present for one thing and absent for another. He therefore determined to inaugurate a new rule.

The battle began on January 21, 1890, when he refused Bland's demand for tellers on a motion to adjourn, for the plain reason that it was a dilatory motion. The Democrats raised a storm of opposition and denounced the Speaker for ruthlessly trampling upon the rights of the minority. On the same day the majority wished to take up a contested election case. The Democrats objected, and when a motion was made to take up the case 165 Democrats sat in their seats and refused to answer the roll call. According to the old rules they were absent, and as only 163 Republicans were present there was no quorum as required by the Constitution for the transaction of business. But no rules had as yet been adopted, and, acting under the principles of general parliamentary law, Reed directed the clerk to record as present those who refused to vote. Immediately pandemonium broke out. Cries of "revolutionary," "tyrant," etc., filled the chamber. The scene was unparalleled in the history of Congress. The Speaker was denounced as a despot and was given the title of "Czar Reed." But he was unmoved by all denunciation and calmly announced his intention of disregarding all motions and appeals which were

obviously intended for delay and to count as present all who were in their seats.<sup>6</sup> The minority continued to complain for a brief period, but they soon came to appreciate the obvious necessity of such a change, and when they became the majority, as they did in the next Congress, they adopted Reed's sensible rule. It has now become a permanent feature of the rules of procedure of the House of Representatives and has saved the House as a legislative body.

Another feature of the Republican policy was the enactment of a "Force Bill," as the Democrats called it, for the supervision of Federal elections. The purpose of the proposed law was to secure to the negroes of the South the full enjoyment of the suffrage in congressional and presidential elections, of which they were alleged to have been largely deprived by intimidation and violence. The bill proposed to do this in the last resort by the use of armed force. The introduction of such a measure into the House aroused the whole South, and from every quarter came the bitterest denunciation. The Southerners resented the charge that they interfered with the right of the negroes to vote as they pleased, and asserted that the proposed law was an attempt of the Republicans to concoct a scheme by which the Southern States might be carried for them in the face of Democratic majorities. In the House the Democrats fought the bill to the last, but in consequence of the Reed rules they were unable to prevent its passage. In the Senate, however, where the rules and practices are more favorable to filibustering, the bill was finally defeated after a protracted and obstinate contest, chiefly through the efforts of Senator Gorman, of Maryland, aided by a few Silver Republicans.

Still another part of the administration programme was the enactment of a dependent pension law. A measure was accordingly brought in similar to that vetoed by Presi-

<sup>6</sup> Follett, "The Speaker of the House of Representatives," p. 192.

dent Cleveland, allowing a pension to all Union soldiers and sailors above a certain age who had served in the Civil War as long as three months, if they were disabled by any cause from earning a livelihood, and the benefits of this provision were extended to all dependents of such persons. The measure was severely criticised as a gigantic raid on the Treasury, but it passed both houses, and received the approval of the President. In three years after the enactment



HON. JOHN SHERMAN  
Photograph from life

of the law the expenditure for pensions had risen from \$107,-620,232 to about \$161,774,372. Never in the history of the world has a nation been so lavishly generous toward its old soldiers and sailors as has been the United States. It spends more in one year for pensions than most of the European nations spend in a generation.

An important statute which bids fair to become a permanent feature of Federal jurisprudence was the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, so called, enacted in July, 1890. Re-

cent years had witnessed a tremendous growth in the United States of large industrial combinations or "trusts," as they were popularly called, for the purpose of suppressing competition and keeping up prices. In almost every line of industrial activity manufacturers formed combinations and raised the prices of their products to such a point as the traffic would bear. Manufacturers who refused to join the "trusts" were crushed to death by their more powerful

rivals. A good example was the sugar "trust," which brought into its grasp every refinery in the United States except two small ones in Boston, and which was powerful enough to fix the price of every pound of sugar produced in the country. Of a similar character were the Standard Oil "trust," the whisky "trust," the barbed wire "trust," the wire nail "trust," the tobacco "trust," the beef "trust," and almost a hundred others. The States began to pass laws directed against "combinations in restraint of trade," and appeals were made to Congress to help in the good work. After a discussion lasting through many weeks and months the Sherman Act of July 2, 1890, was passed. As the power of Congress over trade and commerce is limited by the Constitution to such only as is of an interstate character, the scope of the Sherman Act is, of course, greatly restricted.

The law provides that every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce, among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed illegal, and every person who shall make any such combination or engage in any such conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by a fine, not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment, not exceeding one year, or both. Every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person to monopolize, any part of the trade or commerce among the States or with foreign nations shall be punished with a like penalty. The law has not fully met the expectations of its framers. As the courts interpret it the sugar "trust," the whisky "trust" and many others do not come within its purview. Interest in the law, however, has lately been revived by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case, by which the "merger" of two great western railroads, the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, was



dissolved. The recent appropriation by Congress of \$500,000 to pay the expenses of prosecuting "trusts" under the Sherman Act, the creation of a bureau of corporations in the Department of Labor and Commerce with inquisitorial powers, and the enactment of a law to expedite "trust" prosecutions shows that Congress, at least, believes that the law can be effectively enforced.

Two other important legislative acts affecting interstate commerce were enacted the same year. One of these was the "original package" law, passed in deference to the Prohibitionist sentiment of the country and in consequence of a decision of the Supreme Court, denying the right of the States to exclude the importation of intoxicating liquors from other States or from abroad.<sup>7</sup> This decision practically nullified the Prohibition laws of those States like Iowa, which had undertaken to suppress the liquor traffic within their jurisdiction. Congress yielded to the appeals of those who represented the Prohibitionist sentiment and passed an Act providing that intoxicating liquor brought into a State should be subject to the police power of the said State immediately upon its arrival within the State, whether imported in the "original package" or otherwise. The Act was believed by many to be unconstitutional, as a surrender by Congress of its power to regulate interstate commerce, but the Supreme Court affirmed its validity.<sup>8</sup>

The other Act was likewise passed in deference to the moral sentiment of the country. It prohibited the transportation of lottery tickets and circulars through the mails of the United States. The express companies, however, were left free to carry them as they pleased. Five years later this law was supplemented by another which prohibited the carrying of lottery tickets from one State to another, in any

<sup>7</sup> *Leisy vs. Hardin*, 135 U. S. Reports, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> See *Rahrer*, 140 U. S. Reports, p. 545.



manner, whether by express or otherwise. This Act was attacked in the Courts as unconstitutional, on the ground that the right of Congress to regulate commerce did not include the right to prohibit it, but the Supreme Court sustained its validity.<sup>9</sup> These Acts grew out of the anti-lottery sentiment aroused by the prolonged and bitter contest in Louisiana, where a lottery incorporated by the State had existed and flourished since 1868. By 1890 its power had become so great that it was able to control to a large extent the politics of the State in its own interest. Its revenues were enormous; one-third of all the mail matter received at New Orleans was addressed to the lottery, while the money orders which it cashed exceeded \$30,000 a day. But the moral sentiment of the State revolted against the continuance of such a gigantic gambling concern, and when the company prepared to ask for a renewal of its charter, which was to expire in 1893, a most determined campaign against renewal was inaugurated by the good people of the commonwealth. The company offered in return for a twenty-five-year lease of power over a million dollars a year, which, in view of the somewhat impoverished condition of the State, was a tempting inducement. By a liberal use of money a proposal to amend the constitution so as to allow the company a new charter was passed by the legislature by a two-thirds majority, but was promptly vetoed by the governor, Murphy James Foster. But the company did not give up the fight, and finally secured the submission of an amendment. The people of the State now divided into two parties, "pros" and "antis," and each put out a candidate for governor and went before the voters on the one issue of "lottery" or "no lottery." One of the most exciting campaigns in the history of any State ensued, and Foster, the anti-lottery candidate, swept the commonwealth. This sealed the

<sup>9</sup> *Champion vs. U. S.*, decided February 23, 1903.

fate of the lottery, and after the expiration of its charter it betook itself to Honduras, where it had been granted a concession by the government of that impecunious republic.

Of equal importance with the anti-trust and anti-lottery legislation was the new currency Act of 1890, popularly known as the "Sherman Silver Law," designed to meet, and as a compromise to fend off, an absolute free coinage law. It repealed the Bland-Allison Act and directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase four and a half million ounces of silver bullion per month, and to pay for the same with treasury notes expressly issued for the purpose, which were to be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, unless otherwise stipulated, and also receivable for the payment of customs duties and taxes. The notes were to be redeemed in gold or silver coin, and the Secretary was required to coin each month 2,000,000 ounces of the silver purchased until July 1, 1891, after which only so much as might be necessary to redeem the treasury notes issued for its purchase. While the Bland-Allison law was repealed by the Sherman Act, the latter, nevertheless, declared it to be the policy of the government to maintain the two metals upon a parity at the existing ratio or some other fixed by Congress. This law was the result of the widespread popular demand for an increase in the volume of money in circulation and for more friendly legislation in the interest of silver. Strangely enough, the Senate, which, in 1878, rejected the proposition of the House to throw open the mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, now favored free coinage, while the House did not. This circumstance was due partly to the reënforcement of the silver contingent in the Senate by the admission of several new Western States to the Union. The Sherman Act, like the others preceding it, was ineffective, so far as keeping up the price of silver was concerned, and three years later was repealed by a Democratic Congress.

From this brief review of the record of the Fifty-first Congress it will be seen that much more than the usual amount of important legislation had been enacted. With this record the Republicans went to the country in the congressional elections of 1890 and asked for an endorsement of their work. They had enacted some useful laws which met the general approval of the country, but the Dependent Pension Bill, the proposed Force Bill and the McKinley Tariff Law proved heavy weights to carry in the campaign. The enactment of the new tariff had been followed by an increase of prices. Worse still had been the extravagant appropriations footing up altogether to over nine hundred million dollars—a record of expenditures by one Congress unprecedented in the history of the country. In consequence the Fifty-first Congress was dubbed by its opponents the “billion dollar Congress,” the Republicans aptly responding with “this is a billion dollar country.” The problem of the surplus to which Cleveland had adverted in one of his messages had been largely disposed of by government drafts to meet the enlarged expenses. All this made excellent campaign material for the Democrats, and when the votes were counted it was found that they had swept the country by a majority the largest in the history of that party. The election was what in political parlance is described as a “landslide.” The small Democratic minority in the House was transformed into a majority of about one hundred and fifty. The able and popular McKinley was among the many prominent Republicans who were defeated. Never since the beginning of its career was the sorrowing in the Republican ranks so great, but it was destined to be only short-lived. One of the surprising features of this election was the strength shown by the People’s Party, or the “Populists,” as they were variously called.

## III

FOREIGN AFFAIRS; LYNCHING OF ITALIANS; THE SAMOAN  
DISPUTE; RELATIONS WITH CHILI; SETTLEMENT  
OF BEHRING SEA DISPUTE

The foreign relations of the United States during Harrison's administration were on the whole peaceful, although there were several irritating incidents which deserve brief mention. One of these arose out of the lynching of eleven Italians by a mob in New Orleans in March, 1891. The city had been thrown into great excitement by the murder of the Chief of Police, D. C. Hennessy, by members of an Italian secret society known as the "Mafia," whose crimes Hennessy had been active in ferreting out. Eleven suspects were put on trial, and the evidence showed that they were guilty, but to the amazement of the court and the citizens not one was convicted. At this verdict the popular indignation knew no bounds. A mass meeting was called to meet at the Clay statue on Canal Street, and after listening to the harangue of an excited speaker the crowd made its way to the prison, battered down the heavy iron doors and put the Italians to death. Three of the victims were subjects of the King of Italy; the rest were naturalized Americans. Our treaty with Italy guaranteed to Italian subjects residing in the United States full protection in their persons and property. The Italian Government immediately lodged a protest with the government of the United States, demanding an indemnity and the speedy punishment of those concerned in the lynching. This proved to be an embarrassing request. In vain did Mr. Blaine attempt to explain to the Italian ambassador, Baron Fava, that under our system of government the punishment of criminals with a few exceptions is a function of the State governments. But the ambassador, as well as



the Italian public, could not understand why, if the United States had promised to protect Italian subjects, it should attempt to evade that duty by throwing the responsibility upon one of the local governments. It seemed to them like equivocation and evasion. After a long and somewhat acrimonious diplomatic controversy, in the course of which Mr. Blaine told the Italian ambassador that he did not recognize the right of any government to tell the United States what it should do, and that it was a matter of indifference to him what the people of Italy thought of our institutions, the matter was finally settled by the agreement of the Italian Government to accept an indemnity of \$25,000 to be distributed among the families of the murdered Italian subjects. Thus the difficulty was amicably settled; but it gave prominence for the first time in recent years to a defect in our Federal system, namely, the impotency of the national government in carrying out its treaty obligations respecting the subjects of other nations resident in the United States.

Another diplomatic complication of the time arose from our relations with the far away South Pacific Island of Samoa. The first time the attention of the United States was directed to this group of islands, of which Samoa is the chief, was in 1873, when an enthusiastic American naval commander in the South Pacific concluded a treaty with the Samoan chief, by which the excellent harbor of Pago Pago was ceded to the United States as a naval station. But apparently the harbor was not wanted, and the Senate took no action on the treaty. In 1878, however, the United States after having declined an invitation from the Samoan chief to assume a protectorate over the islands, concluded with him a commercial treaty, by which the use of Pago Pago was secured as a naval station. Shortly afterward Great Britain and Germany concluded similar treaties, by which the independence of Samoa was recognized by the three govern-



ments. The ensuing years were marked by incessant wrangling and discord among the consuls of the three Powers and of civil disorder amounting at times to open war between the rival chiefs, Malietoa on the one hand, and Tamasese and Mataafa on the other. This state of affairs continued until 1885, when the German authorities assumed control on the ground that their large commercial interests were not sufficiently protected. This somewhat high-handed action irritated the British and American authorities and



MALIETOA, KING OF THE SAMOAN ISLANDS

called forth protests from their respective governments. Upon the suggestion of Secretary of State Bayard, a conference of the three powers was held at Washington in 1887 to devise some scheme for insuring stable government in the islands and preserving the peace, but no agreement was reached.

Shortly after the adjournment of the conference another outbreak between the followers of the rival chiefs occurred, in the course of

which the Germans dethroned and deported Malietoa and installed Tamasese as king, with a German resident as adviser. This act upon the part of the German authorities caused great indignation in the United States, Congress appropriated half a million dollars for the protection of American interests in the islands, and a squadron was sent to Samoan waters. Early in 1889 the squadron was practically destroyed by a terrific hurricane which swept over the islands, and this served to direct further attention to

the archipelago. Soon after the accession of President Harrison a commission of three Americans of high character was sent to Berlin to join similar commissioners representing the other two powers concerned, and a scheme was finally agreed upon, June 14, 1889, by which a sort of joint protectorate of the three powers was established over the islands, large judicial and administrative powers being given to a foreign justice selected by joint agreement. The tripartite protectorate, however, did not work satisfactorily, the disorders broke out afresh, and ten years later a new treaty was concluded, by which the Samoan group was divided between the three powers, the United States taking Tutuila and Germany the rest. Great Britain was contented to receive assurances from Germany of territorial compensation in other directions.<sup>10</sup> In thus insisting upon the right to determine the status of a group of remote and semi-barbarous islands, and in finally absorbing the largest of them, the United States gave evidence of the new spirit of territorial expansion which was now apparently becoming a well established feature of our national policy.

A diplomatic dispute with the little South American republic of Chili attracted public attention in 1891. One of those civil wars which have come to be almost every-day occurrences in the Latin American republics was going on between the followers of President Balmaceda and the "Congressional party," in the course of which the American minister, Mr. Egan, took sides with the former. The congressional party were offended at the avowed sympathy of the minister, and conceived a feeling of hostility toward all Americans in Chili. The unfriendliness of the insurgents toward the Americans was further increased by the action of the United States authorities in seizing the *Itata*, a Chilean

<sup>10</sup> Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," ch. xii.; Snow, "Topics in American Diplomacy," pp. 398-422.

cruiser in the service of that party, on the ground that it was believed to be violating the neutrality laws of the United States in carrying arms and ammunition from California to be used by the revolutionists. The popular indignation reached a climax on October 17, 1891, when a detachment of American sailors from the *Baltimore* were attacked on the streets of Valparaiso, two of whom were killed and fifteen or twenty wounded. The affair created general indignation in the United States and this was heightened when the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs imputed to the government of the United States motives of insincerity. In January, 1892, Mr. Blaine presented to the Chilean Government an ultimatum for suitable reparation, and it was promptly complied with, but only under a threat of war. The Chilean Government apologized for the language of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed regret for the attack upon the American sailors and offered \$75,000 as an indemnity for the outrage.

A legislative measure affecting the diplomatic service and indicating a tendency toward a more active and dignified foreign policy was an Act of 1892 raising the rank of certain ministers to that of ambassadors whenever the countries to which they were accredited should send an ambassador to the United States. The measure grew out of the inconvenience and embarrassments to which our ministers had been subjected in matters of precedence at foreign courts. Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, appointed ambassador to England in 1893, was the first American representative abroad to enjoy the new rank.

The most important long standing international complication which occupied the attention of the Harrison administration was that relating to the seal fisheries in Behring Sea. The sealing industry in these waters is the most valuable in the world and was one of the considerations which

induced the United States to purchase Alaska from Russia in 1867. From 1870 to 1890 it yielded an average of 100,000 skins a year, and the company to which the fishery had been leased paid an annual rental to the United States of \$50,000 in addition to \$2.62½ per skin. The seals have a fixed habitation off the Alaskan shore, but during the breeding season they regularly cross the open sea to the Pribylov Islands, which belong to the United States. About 1886 Canadian fishermen began the practice of shooting the seals while making the passage through the open sea beyond the three-mile limit, often killing both male and female. It soon became evident that as a result of indiscriminate slaughter the seal fisheries were in danger of being destroyed. The government of the United States therefore proposed to the British Government that a convention be entered into between the two powers for the purpose of restricting the season during which seals could be taken and forbidding their molestation during the breeding season. The expediency of the convention was at once recognized by Great Britain, and her concurrence promised. Upon request the United States proceeded to draw up the necessary regulations, when an unexpected obstacle occurred in the opposition of the Canadian Government, whose subjects were profiting by the depredation. The Canadian objections could not be overcome, and the scheme had to be abandoned.

The government of the United States now resolved to act on its own authority and put a stop to the depredations. In August, 1886, three British vessels were seized in Behring Sea by a United States cruiser for taking seals in a part of the sea from 45 to 115 miles from land. The British Government protested and the captures were restored. But a prolonged diplomatic controversy with Great Britain ensued, in the course of which the United States took the ground that the waters in which the seizures were made did



not constitute a part of the open sea, but were within the jurisdiction of the United States. An attempt was made to show that Russia had treated this part of the Behring Sea as *mare clausum* and that whatever rights she possessed in this respect passed to the United States by the cession of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands in 1867. In 1889 Mr. Blaine became Secretary of State and entered upon a long diplomatic controversy with the British ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote, in regard to the dispute. Other grounds than *mare clausum* were now put forth in defense of the position of the United States. The stand was taken that the Canadian practice was *contra bonos mores*, a practice which involved a serious and permanent injury to the rights of the government and the people of the United States. It was further asserted that the United States had a right of property in the seals by reason of its ownership of the coast on which they live and of the islands to which they regularly resort for the purpose of producing and rearing their young; and this property interest was claimed and exercised by Russia until ceded to the United States. Great Britain, it was said, had impliedly recognized it by abstaining from all interference therein until about the year 1886. In view of the pending negotiations for the settlement of the dispute by arbitration, a *modus vivendi* was agreed to on June 15, 1891, and the depredations were ordered to be discontinued for the period of one year.

Finally an arbitration treaty was concluded February 29, 1892, providing for a reference of the questions in dispute to a commission of seven arbitrators, two to be appointed by the President of the United States, two by the Queen of England, one by the King of Sweden, one by the President of the French Republic, and one by the King of Italy. The arbitrators were duly appointed and met in Paris in the spring of 1893. The United States was represented



by able counsel, but when the evidence was all before the tribunal it was plain that the government had a very weak case with regard to the claim of exclusive jurisdiction in the Behring Sea, and it was not strongly pressed. The real question, therefore, and the one upon which the chief argument was directed, was the claim of the United States to a property right in the seals and the right of protecting them beyond the three-mile limit. The tribunal decided that Russia never asserted or exercised any exclusive jurisdiction over the Behring Sea beyond the three-mile limit; that Great Britain had never recognized any such claim; and that the United States had no right to the protection of, or to property in, the seals frequenting the islands of the United States in the Behring Sea when found outside the three-mile limit. The tribunal, however, prescribed a series of regulations for preserving the seal herds, and these were to be binding upon and enforced by both nations. They limit pelagic sealing as to time, place and manner by fixing a zone of sixty miles around the Pribylov Islands within which the seals are not to be molested at any time, and from May 1 to July 31 each year they are not to be pursued anywhere in Behring Sea. Only licensed sailing vessels are permitted to engage in fur-sealing, and the use of firearms or explosives is interdicted. The regulations are to remain in force until abolished by mutual agreement, but are to be examined every five years with a view to modification. Of course the restrictions imposed have no application to citizens or subjects of other nations and have proved practically worthless.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> J. B. Moore, "International Arbitrations," vol. i. ch. xvii. See, also, an article by Hon. E. J. Phelps, one of the counsel for the United States before the Arbitration Tribunal, *Harper's Magazine* for April, 1891.

## IV

THE MORMONS; ADMISSION OF NEW STATES; INDUSTRIAL  
PROGRESS

At home the attention of the people during the Harrison administration was directed in a large measure to events in the West—the Mormon question, the opening of Oklahoma, the erection of new States and preparations for the great World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. For years the polygamous practices of the Mormons had been attracting the attention of the country, and now the question had become one of national politics. Most people are doubtless familiar with the story of the finding by Joseph Smith, Jr., of certain strangely inscribed plates in western New York, of how he was divinely provided with a key by means of which the mysterious hieroglyphics were translated into English, thus creating the Book of Mormon, of how he organized a religious sect with this book as a guide, and of how when the Book of Mormon became insufficient as a code of law for the expanding sect, Smith claimed to receive revelations from God—numbering altogether one hundred and twenty-five or more, and covering a great variety of subjects from the most trivial to the most important—which were gathered together in a volume called the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. About the time the slavery controversy was beginning to agitate the country, in the early thirties, large numbers of Smith's adherents migrated from New York to western Missouri, then the outskirts of American civilization, where they soon came into conflict with the Gentile population, were driven from place to place by lawless mobs, and finally recrossed the Mississippi River into central Illinois about the year 1841. Here they founded a flourishing town called Nauvoo, which they governed for several years

substantially according to their own ideas, free from the interference of the State.

It was at this stage that Smith is alleged to have received the revelation enjoining the practice of polygamy, although the reorganized Church, at the head of which is a son of Joseph Smith, Jr., denies that the Prophet ever claimed to have received such a revelation or that he ever himself took plural wives. Whatever the fact may be as to this point, the Mormons began to practice polygamy on a small scale during their sojourn in Illinois. As a result they soon came into conflict with the civil authorities, and in the course of the controversy Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were taken from the custody of the local officers and murdered by a mob. After this occurrence the Mormons abandoned Nauvoo and began their migration to the region west of the Rocky Mountains, reaching the shores of Salt Lake in July, 1847, where they laid the foundation of the Mormon empire.

Without the jurisdiction of any State they attempted to set up an independent commonwealth, and under the leadership of Brigham Young, who had succeeded Smith as the head of the Church, virtually rose in rebellion and undertook to resist the extension of national authority over them. In the course of the controversy Young declared martial law, called upon the inhabitants to hold themselves in readiness to repel the "invasion" of the United States forces and ordered the commander to retire forthwith from the Territory by the same route which he had entered it.

In the meantime the plural marriage revelation had been promulgated as a doctrine of the Church and polygamy was being taught and practiced by Brigham Young and a large number of his followers. By 1862 the practice was beginning to attract the attention of the country, and in that

year Congress took action for the first time by passing an Act imposing a fine of not more than \$500 and imprisonment not exceeding five years for the offense of bigamy in any Territory of the United States.<sup>12</sup> To correct several defects of this law Congress in 1882 passed the Edmunds Act, which created the offense of unlawful cohabitation; that is, introduced the distinction between polygamy and unlawful cohabitation, and made the latter as well as the former punishable by fine and imprisonment.<sup>13</sup> Prosecutions under the new law began actively about 1884, but it, too, was soon found to be defective in several particulars, and in 1887 Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act, correcting as far as possible the defects of the old law, facilitating the method of procedure, dissolving the Church as a corporation and confiscating its property and placing it in the hands of receivers.<sup>14</sup> The Act of 1862 was attacked in the Federal courts, and in 1878 the Supreme Court, in the case of *Reynolds vs. the United States*, definitely disposed of the question by holding that the religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution did not cover immoral practices conducted under the guise of religious worship.<sup>15</sup> Likewise the Edmunds Act of 1882 was sustained,<sup>16</sup> and so was the Edmunds-Tucker Act providing for the escheat of the property of the Church and its application to charitable purposes.<sup>17</sup>

Thus every Act of Congress directed against the suppression of polygamy was upheld by the Supreme Court as a legitimate measure, leaving the executive authorities a free hand. Under the earlier Acts plural marriages continued, but with the passage of the more stringent measures, the increased activity of the prosecuting officers and the

<sup>12</sup> 12 U. S. Stats. at Large, p. 301.

<sup>13</sup> 22 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> 24 *Ibid.*, p. 635.

<sup>15</sup> 98 U. S. Reports, p. 163.

<sup>16</sup> *Murphy v. Ramsay*, 114 U. S. Reports, p. 45.

<sup>17</sup> *Mormon Church Case*, 136 U. S. Reports, p. 1.



rapid crystallization of anti-polygamy sentiment the number decreased until 1890, when the decision in the Mormon Church case was rendered.

At this juncture, the existence of the Church being threatened by the evident determination of the United States Government to put an end to polygamous practices, Wilford Woodruff, president of the Church, sought divine advice as to the proper course for the Church to pursue with regard to polygamy, and in due course he received, as he claims, a revelation condemning plural marriage. He thereupon, September, 1890, issued a manifesto publicly advising all Mormons to refrain from contracting marriages forbidden by the law of the land.

From the promulgation of the manifesto in 1890 to the admission of Utah as a State in 1896 there were few polygamous marriages contracted and still fewer prosecutions by the United States, although it appears from the evidence that during this time there were not less than one thousand men in the Territory who were cohabiting with plural wives. Apparently there was little disposition on the part of the Federal officials to interfere with existing marriages, in view of the official abandonment by the Church of the doctrine of polygamy and the solemn assurance of the leaders that no further plural marriages would be allowed. In 1891 a petition presented to the President of the United States, signed by the president of the Church and the twelve apostles, who styled themselves the "shepherds of a patient and suffering people," recited their "former beliefs" in polygamy, declared that their people were scattered, their homes desolate, their leaders imprisoned, banished or in hiding, themselves in sack cloth and ashes, and asked that amnesty be granted all who were subject to punishment under the law. The petition further stated that the signers no longer sanctioned or taught polygamy, that they intended to obey



the laws and that they were willing to pledge their faith and honor for the future conduct of those for whom amnesty was asked.

A little more than a year later, January, 1893, President Harrison, upon the representations thus made, issued a proclamation granting a full pardon and amnesty to all persons who were liable to penalties by reason of unlawful cohabitation under the cover of polygamous marriage, provided such persons had abstained from such unlawful cohabitation since the issue of the Woodruff manifesto, and with the express condition that they should in the future faithfully obey the laws of the United States relating to polygamy. In October of the same year Congress adopted a joint resolution based on the solemn assurance of the Church authorities that polygamy had entirely ceased, and restoring to the Mormon Church most of the property confiscated by the Edmunds-Tucker Act.

The four years of Harrison's term constituted an era of territorial progress and of State-building in the West. In 1890 Oklahoma, that part of the Indian Territory which the government had acquired from the Seminoles in 1866, was thrown open to white settlers, and in a day the foundation of a new State was laid. The conditions upon which the territory had been acquired did not permit the residence of white men, but it was found to be practically impossible as well as inexpedient to shut them out. Yielding to the pressure from the white settlers, Congress appropriated several million dollars with which to extinguish the conditions under which the Territory had been acquired, and a proclamation was issued announcing that the lands would be thrown open to all at noon on April 22, 1890. At the given signal tens of thousands, who had camped on the ground and waited in line for days, rushed wildly forward to stake off choice lots. Before the day was over Guthrie was a city of



Copyright, 1903, by John D. Morris & Company

BOOMERS ENTERING OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

Drawing by Albert Richter



ten thousand inhabitants, Oklahoma City soon had as many, and before the end of the year the Territory as a whole boasted of a population of sixty thousand, an amount sufficient to entitle it to admission as a State under the Ordinance of 1787.

Since the building of the transcontinental railroad and the extraordinary influx of immigrants from Europe there had been an increasing movement of population to the far West. This region was now more accessible, the hardships of migration thereto had been greatly lessened and its wonderful possibilities had come to be better appreciated. Thousands from the old States as well as a large proportion of the newly arrived emigrants from Europe made their way up the mountains and down the slopes to swell its population and aid in the erection of new States. In 1889 four Territories in this region, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington, applied to Congress for the commonwealth status and were admitted to the Union. In the following year two others—Idaho and Wyoming—were admitted. Just one hundred years had passed since the adoption of the Constitution, and during this time the Union, which many believed would not endure permanently, had grown from thirteen States to forty-four, and the population had increased from less than four million to over sixty million. While thus the Republic had grown in territorial extent and population, it had grown equally in riches and power. The total estimated wealth was sixty billion dollars and the undeveloped resources practically inexhaustible. From the position of a fourth-rate nation in rank it had risen to that of one of the great world powers, although it required another decade to convince Europe of the fact.

One of the first of President Harrison's non-political duties was to participate in a unique and imposing celebration by the people of the city of New York of the centennial

anniversary of the inauguration of the government under the Constitution. During the three days of the celebration the thoughts of the people were turned to the humble beginnings of our national life one hundred years before. The contemplation of its growth from such beginnings to the mightiest of republics did not fail to arouse feelings of admiration and pride.



## Chapter XLII

### CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM. 1893-1897

#### I

##### THE DEFEAT OF HARRISON

THE presidential contest of 1892 was fought out on substantially the same issues and between the same candidates as in 1888. President Harrison had proved to be an able and conscientious executive, but not a popular leader. His personality was such that he failed to attract men to his support, as did Blaine and some of the other Republican leaders. He lacked personal magnetism, was rather cold and reserved in manner, his demeanor unsympathetic. He refused to unbosom himself to the leaders of his party and take them into his confidence; he was, in fact, wanting in the charms and graces that go to make up the resources of a successful politician. To all except a small coterie of intimate friends he appeared ungracious and indifferent, talked to them as if conversation were a burden, and where he did not positively offend he at least made an unfavorable impression. Unlike Blaine, he could never grant a request without seeming to feel that he was doing a favor. It was stated by one who knew him well that if Harrison were to address an audience of 10,000 men he would capture them all; but if each of them were presented to him in private, he would make each his enemy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hoar, "Autobiography of Seventy Years," vol. i. p. 414.

Nevertheless it would have seemed a confession of weakness to drop Mr. Harrison at the end of his first term, and so he was renominated, but not without opposition in his own party. There were still many Republicans who preferred Blaine. But in February, 1892, he had written a letter to the chairman of the National Republican Committee announcing that he would not under any circumstances be a candidate. There can be little doubt of his sincerity, for he was growing old, was crushed by domestic bereavement and in failing health; in fact he was within but a few months of his grave. For many years he had been the acknowledged leader of his party, he had struggled and toiled for the great prize which he felt was justly his, and yet it had all been in vain. He was thoroughly sick and tired of presidential campaigns, and not even the Presidency seemed worth while at this stage of his life. But his enemies charged that his declination was not made in good faith, and even insinuated that he was intriguing against the President to secure the nomination himself. Stories were circulated that official intercourse between him and the President had broken off. Irritated and worried at these charges, he suddenly resigned from the Cabinet three days before the meeting of the national Republican convention. His retirement from the Cabinet at this juncture was widely interpreted as equivalent to an announcement of his candidacy, and when the convention met at Minneapolis (June 7) Mr. Blaine's name was presented, though without his authority, as he afterwards alleged. It was too late, however, to bring about his nomination, and Harrison won on the first ballot, although Blaine received 182 votes. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune*, was nominated for Vice President.

The Democratic convention met at Chicago, June 21, and nominated ex-President Cleveland for President and

Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice President. After his defeat, in 1888, Mr. Cleveland had moved to New York city, where he resumed the practice of the law, and to the professional politicians his public career seemed to have ended. But evidences were never wanting that he was not forgotten by the masses. Considerable opposition to Cleveland's nomination was manifested in the South and West, where his hostility to the free coinage of silver had alienated many Democratic voters. His personal friends, too, begged him to refrain from committing himself in advance of the convention; but all such suggestions he put aside and boldly announced his unalterable opposition to free silver. In a letter addressed to the chairman of a great meeting at Cooper Union, New York, called to protest against the free silver bill which was then pending in Congress, he described "the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited and independent silver coinage" as a scheme which would "invite the gravest peril."<sup>2</sup> As a result of his stand the bill failed, although it succeeded in passing the Senate. New York, under the leadership of David B. Hill, attempted to defeat the nomination of Cleveland. Under his direction the New York State convention was called to meet in February to choose delegates—four months before the meeting of the national convention. A storm of protests against Hill's "midwinter" convention was raised by Cleveland's friends, who denounced the action as an attempt to thwart the wishes of the people and secure for himself the endorsement of the New York delegation. Cleveland, in spite of all opposition, however, was, as stated above, nominated on the first ballot, receiving more than two-thirds of the votes of the convention, none of which came from his own State.<sup>3</sup>

The Democratic platform attacked the proposed Force

<sup>2</sup> Parker, "Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland," p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 505.

Bill as the "most infamous measure that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate," and asserted that if enacted it would injure the colored citizen more than the white; denounced "protection" as a "fraud and a robbery of the American people," and stigmatized the McKinley tariff law as "the culminating atrocity of class legislation," "a policy which fosters no industry so much as that of the sheriff," and the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 it described as a "cowardly makeshift." "After thirty years of high protection," said the platform, "the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over \$2,500,000,000." With regard to the money question, which threatened to be the paramount issue, the platform pronounced in favor of the "use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and the coinage of each without discrimination against either." There were other meaningless declarations relating to the currency question and the usual platitudes about liberty, equality and human rights.

The Republican platform affirmed the "American doctrine of protection," and declared that the prosperous condition of the country was largely due to the McKinley Tariff Act; condemned the efforts of the Democrats to destroy the tariff by "piecemeal"; denounced the "inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States," and demanded that every citizen of the United States should be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot should be counted." Finally, on the money question, the platform declared that the party favored the use of both gold and silver "with such restrictions and under such provisions to be determined by law as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of

silver or of gold, shall be at all times equal." Both platforms contained declarations favoring the construction of the proposed Nicaragua Canal and national aid for the World's Columbian Exposition soon to be held at Chicago.

The People's Party, which had been able to elect several members of Congress in 1890, and which had spread rapidly over the South and West, now held its first national convention at Omaha, July 2, and nominated General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice President. Their platform discoursed at length upon the "demoralization" of the country; denounced the money power; demanded a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, as well as the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1; demanded that the amount of the circulating medium be increased to not less than \$50 per capita; that a tax be levied on incomes, and that the telegraph, telephone and transportation systems be owned and operated by the national government.<sup>4</sup> The Socialist Labor Party nominated Simon Wing, of Massachusetts, for its presidential candidate, while the Prohibitionists nominated John Bidwell to lead their forlorn hope.

The election campaign of 1892 was not characterized by any extraordinary incidents. It was, however, one of unusual interest and activity. There was a vigorous general discussion of the questions involved. The chief issue turned out to be the tariff instead of the money question. The Southern and Western Democrats, who insisted on throwing the mints open to the free coinage of silver, preferred to make the latter question the paramount issue, but Mr. Cleveland, in his speech of acceptance, insisted on giving the tariff the chief place. He vigorously denied the assertion in the Republican platform that the McKinley law had brought general prosperity to the country, and referred to

<sup>4</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 511.



the general reduction in wages, the low prices of farm products and the epidemic of labor strikes as indisputable proof that no such prosperity existed. He criticised the attempt of the Republicans to control the suffrage of the Southern States through "Federal agencies," advocated "sound and honest money," urged an "honest adherence to the letter and spirit of civil service reform," and insisted that the pension roster should be a roll of honor. Then, he said, there were the high prices of commodities which bore heavily upon the laboring class. His arguments all proved effective in the hands of the Democrats, who made good use of them. The most serious labor difficulty which occurred to plague the Republicans during the campaign was the strike of the employés of the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania, on account of a reduction of wages. A lock-out was ordered, but after a brief interval an effort was made to resume operations with non-union laborers. Anticipating trouble, the company hired a force of Pinkerton men to protect the employés who wished to work, but while approaching the plant in river barges the detectives were fired upon by the strikers and a battle ensued in which about twenty men were killed and a good many wounded. Try as hard as they could the Republicans could not disconnect, to the complete satisfaction of the popular mind, the ultimate causes of this outbreak between capital and labor from the effects of the McKinley tariff.

Whatever may have been the effect of the Homestead strike on the campaign, Cleveland was elected by a large majority. He carried the solid South and also the Northern and Western States of California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, New York and Wisconsin, besides receiving five electoral votes in Michigan,<sup>5</sup> one in

<sup>5</sup> The Democrats were able to secure five votes in Michigan in consequence of a law passed by the Democratic legislature in 1891, providing for the choice

North Dakota and one in Ohio, a State which had never given an electoral vote to a Democrat since the founding of the Republican party. The State as a whole, in fact, was carried by the Republicans by only about 1,000 votes, New Hampshire by about 3,000 and Rhode Island by about 2,000. Cleveland's total number of electoral votes was 277, as against 145 for Harrison, his minority of 110 in the election of 1888 having been turned into a majority over Harrison of 132. Both houses of Congress now had Democratic majorities and for the first time in thirty-two years the Democrats had full control of both the executive and legislative departments of the government. The result of the election revealed the surprising growth of the Populist party in the South and West. In a number of the Western States the new party had well-nigh absorbed the Democrats, and in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, South Dakota and Wyoming the Democratic party nominated no electors, but voted for the Populist candidate.<sup>6</sup> In a number of the Western States there was a "fusion" of Democrats and Populists, while in several Southern commonwealths the union was between Republicans and Populists. For the first time in the history of the country a third party had obtained an electoral vote, General Weaver receiving twenty-two such votes and over a million of the popular vote.

of the presidential electors by districts, rather than by general ticket. The Republicans shortly afterward regained their supremacy and repealed the law before the next presidential election.

<sup>6</sup> Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," p. 515.

## II

## FINANCIAL AND TARIFF LEGISLATION

Grover Cleveland was inaugurated on March 4, 1893, it being the first instance in the history of the country of the accession of a President for a second time after an intervening period of four years.<sup>7</sup> In his inaugural address he referred to the unfavorable financial situation, saying that he purposed to do all in his power to maintain the national credit and avert financial disaster. With regard to the tariff he spoke as follows: "The verdict of our voters which condemned the injustice of maintaining protection for protection's sake enjoins upon the people's servants the duty of exposing and destroying the brood of kindred evils which are the unwholesome progeny of paternalism." He interpreted the results of the election not only as a commission, but a mandate, to the Democratic party to abolish the protective system.

But before the tariff question could be disposed of Congress was called upon to deal with the grave financial situation. For some months signs of business depression had been existent and by the spring of 1893 the country was on the verge of panic. The Republicans claimed this was precipitated by Mr. Carlisle's statement that the Treasury would redeem its notes in silver dollars, but the Democrats

<sup>7</sup> The Cabinet was constituted as follows: Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, Secretary of State; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Daniel S. Lamont of New York, Secretary of War; Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, Attorney General; Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, Postmaster General; Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy; Hoke Smith, of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior, and J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, Secretary of Agriculture. Judge Gresham died May 28, 1895, and was succeeded by Mr. Olney, whose place was taken by Judson Harmon, of Ohio. A little later Postmaster General Bissell resigned and was succeeded by William L. Wilson, of West Virginia. In August, 1896, Secretary Smith resigned and David R. Francis, of Missouri, was appointed in his place.

attributed it to the McKinley tariff and the financial policy of the Harrison administration. Whatever may have been the causes, mines were shut down, banks failed, values fell and general financial and industrial depression prevailed everywhere. The action of the government of India in June, 1893, in suspending the free coinage of silver seemed to add to the difficulties, and the price of silver fell to a point lower than it had ever before reached.

President Cleveland, however, believed that the financial troubles were due, primarily, to the operation of the Sherman Silver Law of 1890. By this Act, it will be remembered, the Secretary of the Treasury was required to purchase four and one-half million ounces of silver bullion each month and to pay for it in treasury notes which had to be redeemed in gold whenever presented to the Treasury, if gold was demanded by the holder. If the Secretary of the Treasury refused to redeem the notes in gold, the "parity," which it was the avowed purpose of the Sherman Act to maintain, would be destroyed. Instead of canceling the notes as they were redeemed, they were again put into circulation, only to come back to the Treasury again and again. Its operation led to a heavy drain on the government's gold reserve, and eventually the amount in hand became so low as to cause uneasiness in financial circles. The government had no way of replenishing its reserve except by borrowing, and that seemed absurd in a time of peace when the revenues were adequate to meet expenses. On June 30, 1893, the President issued a proclamation reciting the general distrust and apprehension, which he said was "largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the government finds embodied in unwise laws," and calling Congress to assemble on August 7.

When Congress met he sent in a message recommending the repeal of those provisions of the Sherman Act au-



thorizing the purchase of silver bullion. But the President found that he had to force his party into line as he had done before on the tariff question. The House was willing to see the purchasing clause repealed, but not so the Senate. The recent admission of new Western States had reënforced the silver contingent in the Senate, so that a majority of its members were opposed to any legislation which would lessen the demand for the white metal. As has been said, they had passed a bill the preceding year to open the mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Consequently they were not ready to vote for the repeal of the Sherman Act, unless a free coinage Act was substituted. Through the tactful management of Speaker Crisp, himself a free silver advocate, the House passed a repealing bill by a large majority; but in the Senate it was held up for more than two months, and it required all the pressure that the President could bring to bear upon the recalcitrants, in the form of patronage and otherwise, to secure the passage of the bill. Meanwhile the distress increased, business failures multiplied, industry was paralyzed, money was scarce, credit had collapsed. Finally the Senate, in sheer exhaustion, gave way, and on November 1 passed the bill. Henceforth the government's enormous purchases of silver ceased. Congress, however, had done only a part of the work for which the President had called it together. He had recommended also the enactment of legislation to protect the gold reserve and "to put beyond all doubt the intention and ability of the government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized nations." But Congress took no action on this recommendation.

The objectionable provisions of the Sherman Silver Law being disposed of, Congress proceeded to attack the McKinley tariff. In December, 1893, William L. Wilson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, brought in a bill for



the reduction of duties on many articles and placing sugar, wool, coal, lumber, iron ore and other raw materials on the free list. A distinctive feature was the substitution of *ad valorem* for specific duties, with a view to regulating the burden of the consumer according to the value of the commodity consumed. To make up for the possible deficit caused by the reduction of duties, a tax of two per cent. on incomes exceeding \$4,000 was proposed. In this form the bill passed the House by the full Democratic majority. But the Senate, where the Democratic majority was very small, refused to accept the bill and proceeded to change the schedules until the bill was no longer recognizable by its framers. A heavy duty was restored on sugar, while coal and iron ore were taken from the free list, thus impairing the principle of free raw materials. Finally, the specific method of levying duties was substituted for the *ad valorem*. The average rate under the McKinley Act had been about fifty per cent. The House bill proposed to reduce that to about thirty-five per cent., while the Senate increased it to about thirty-seven. The House refused to accept the bill thus emasculated and the measure went to a conference committee. Here a long and bitter controversy ensued. The President took a hand in the matter, but the Senate could not be induced to recede from the amendments. The House, in sheer despair of getting anything better, finally yielded and accepted, without change, the modifications proposed by the Senate. When the measure was sent to the President for his approval he found himself in a dilemma. He hesitated to sign a bill which violated the principle of free raw materials for which he had firmly stood and which he had opposed in the strongest of terms. On the other hand, to veto it would mean the continuance of the McKinley law, which to him was more objectionable. In this situation he concluded to do neither, and so he allowed the bill to become law without his signa-

ture, sending in a message in which he described the measure as one of "perfidy and dishonor," a curious decision, his opponents argued, for a man whose courage was proclaimed to the country in season and out of season.

The Wilson Tariff Law was compared by the Republicans to the tariff of abominations of 1828. It pleased no one, not even the Democrats themselves, and in fact violated the traditional Democratic principles that raw materials should be admitted free and that duties should be levied in the main according to the value of the commodities taxed rather than at a specific rate. The income tax provision was particularly obnoxious on account of its inquisitorial feature, its kinship to class legislation and its general Populistic character. This provision was at once attacked in the courts on the ground, among others, that being a direct tax in the sense of the Federal Constitution, it should have been apportioned among the States according to population, but that as this had not been done it was therefore contrary to the Constitution. With more than the usual celerity a case was made up and carried to the United States Supreme Court, which decided that the tax in question, so far as it related to incomes from real estate and personal property, was direct, and, not having been apportioned according to population as required by the Constitution, was null and void. The court proceeded on the theory that the distinction between a tax on property and a tax on the income from property is too fine to receive legal recognition, and subsequently if a tax on one is direct a tax on the other must be. As for the tax on income from municipal bonds, that conflicted with the well-established doctrine that the national government cannot lay taxes on the instrumentalities of the State governments. These provisions of the income tax schedule being void, the whole scheme fell through.<sup>8</sup> This was in May,

<sup>8</sup> See *Pollock vs. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.*, 158 U. S. Reports, p. 601. Decided upon rehearing May 20, 1895.

1895, less than a year after the Act went into effect. The taxes collected were, of course, returned to those from whom they had been taken. This decision threw the Democrats, or rather the more Populistic element of the Democracy, into great consternation, and the Supreme Court was subjected to a vast amount of abuse by the smaller politicians, who accused the justices of being in sympathy with the money power and against the masses of the people. Some of them felt as the Republicans did after the Dred Scott decision in 1857. There were also ugly rumors, less violent, about certain influences which led one of the justices to change his opinion at the last hour, and these rumors, although utterly false and unfounded, were injurious and dangerous. There was a good deal of criticism to the effect that the line of reasoning by which the court had reached its decision was specious and unsound. It should be said, moreover, that the Supreme Court in its conclusion reversed a long line of decisions which sustained the validity of an income tax, and for thus upsetting the precedents its action was justly made a subject of criticism.

### III

#### HAWAII AND VENEZUELA

In the domain of foreign relations the attention of Cleveland and his Cabinet was early occupied with the Hawaiian complication, a legacy inherited from the previous administration. In January, 1893, Liliuokalani, the Queen of Hawaii, who had since her accession two years before resisted the little monarchy's new constitution, undertook to substitute a more autocratic one. The American population of the island, a small but influential portion, rose in revolution, proclaimed a republic, established a provisional govern-

ment with Sanford B. Dole as president, and sent a commission to Washington to negotiate a treaty of annexation with the United States. Immediately before the outbreak of the revolution a body of American marines was landed and placed about the legation and consulate to protect American interests. The United States minister, John L. Stevens, did not conceal his sympathy with the revolutionists, promptly recognized the *de facto* government, hoisted the Stars and



LILIUOKALANI  
QUEEN OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS  
Photograph from life

Stripes over the Hawaiian administration building in the presence of United States marines, and in February assumed a protectorate over the provisional government. This latter act, however, was disavowed by President Harrison. The queen abdicated her throne under protest, saying that she yielded to the superior force of the United States, whose minister had landed troops and given aid to the revolutionists, and announced that she would appeal to the President of the United States for reinstatement. On July 18 she addressed a letter to

President Harrison, reciting that some of her subjects, aided and abetted by the minister of the United States, had revolted against their constitutional government, and forced her abdication, and praying that no action be taken until she could send an envoy to the United States to lay before the government her side of the case.

The President, however, did not wait for the arrival of



the queen's envoy, but on February 14 concluded a treaty of annexation with the commissioners representing the provisional government. Besides the provision for annexation, the treaty contained stipulations by which the United States was to assume the Hawaiian public debt of \$2,250,000 and to provide an annual allowance for the deposed queen. On the following day President Harrison sent the treaty to the Senate, accompanied by a message defending the conduct of Minister Stevens against the charge of aiding in the overthrow of the monarchy and urging the ratification of the treaty, saying that the islands should never be allowed to fall into other hands. Before any action, however, had been taken Harrison's term came to an end and President Cleveland had succeeded him. One of the new President's first acts was to withdraw the treaty from the Senate and to appoint Hon. J. H. Blount, formerly a member of Congress from Georgia and chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, as Special Commissioner to visit Hawaii and make an investigation of all the facts connected with the deposition of the queen, the causes of the revolution, and the sentiment of the people.

On the day after Mr. Blount's arrival at Honolulu, April 1, 1893, he directed the naval commander to haul down the United States flag from the government building and to withdraw the troops from the shore to their ships. After a long investigation he reported to the President that the revolution had been brought about chiefly by the intervention of the American minister, which interference took the form of assurances of aid, and in recognizing the provisional government before the queen had yielded and before her troops had surrendered the station-house. Upon the return of Mr. Blount to the United States the President appointed Albert L. Willis as minister plenipotentiary to the provisional government of Hawaii, and instructed him to inform the ex-



queen that the President was willing to restore her to her throne upon condition that she would grant full amnesty to all persons concerned in the revolutionary events by which she had been deposed. But to this proposition the queen demurred and insisted that the leaders of the revolt should be beheaded or banished and their property confiscated as the law required. The minister communicated her reply to the President, who thereupon instructed him to cease all communication with her until she should agree to grant amnesty. Finally, on December 18, 1893, after a third interview, she gave the required consent. President Dole was then instructed to relinquish the government to the queen, but he refused, and protested that the President of the United States had no authority to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii. Mr. Cleveland, doubting his authority to employ force against the provisional government, referred the whole matter to Congress for such action as it might take, but nothing was done further than an investigation by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.<sup>9</sup> The provisional government interpreted this as equivalent to a declaration that it would not be interfered with and proceeded to effect a permanent organization. A constitution was framed and a republic organized, July 4, 1894. The President promptly recognized it, and the deposed queen, whom he had promised to restore, abandoned the struggle for her lost throne.<sup>10</sup> At each session of Congress she has petitioned for an indemnity on account of her loss, for which the United States was largely responsible, but as yet no appropriation has been made.

Soon after the termination of the Hawaiian incident Secretary Gresham died and was succeeded in the State Department by the Attorney General, Richard Olney.

<sup>9</sup> Snow, "Topics in American Diplomacy," p. 394.

<sup>10</sup> Foster, "American Diplomacy in the Orient," p. 381.

Henceforth a spirit of vigor, if not of actual aggressiveness, characterized the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States. An incident of Mr. Olney's diplomacy which attracted wide attention was that growing out of the Venezuelan affair. A long-standing dispute had existed between Great Britain and Venezuela concerning the western boundary of British Guiana. Venezuela had repeatedly offered to submit the dispute to arbitration, and the United States had again and again tendered its good offices to bring about a fair and peaceful settlement of the controversy, but without avail. The insistence of the British Government upon a westward extension of the Guiana boundary seemed to the Venezuelans a wanton aggression upon their sovereignty and a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, which had been uniformly interpreted as denying the right of any European power to acquire by force new territorial possessions on this hemisphere or to extend their dominions. They therefore called upon the government of the United States to support Venezuela in its attitude, and at the same time uphold one of its own cherished traditions. In the summer of 1895 Mr. Olney inquired of the British Government whether it was willing to submit the controversy to arbitration, saying that Great Britain's action was in effect an aggression upon Venezuelan territory. The Premier, Lord Salisbury, in reply, declared that the dispute could not be submitted to arbitration and asserted that the Monroe Doctrine was not a part of the "code of international law," nor did it have any applicability to the present question; was, in fact, inapplicable "to the state of things in which we live at the present day."<sup>11</sup>

When Lord Salisbury's answer was received, President Cleveland sent in a message (December 17, 1895) which

<sup>11</sup> For the correspondence between Secretary Olney and Lord Salisbury see "Foreign Relations of the United States" for 1895, vol. i. pp. 542-576.

startled the whole country and brought the two great English-speaking peoples of the world to the verge of war. The message created consternation in financial circles, it being estimated that stocks and other securities in the United States fell from \$500,000,000 to \$300,000,000. In this message Mr. Cleveland asserted that the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, as he understood it, was "important to our safety as a nation," "essential to the integrity of our free institutions and was intended to apply to every stage of our national life and could not become obsolete while our Republic endures." He insisted that the action of Great Britain, in extending its boundaries so as to include the territory of one of our neighboring republics, "was an attempt to extend its system of government to this hemisphere, thus constituting a danger to our peace and safety." "Having labored for many years," he said, "to induce Great Britain to submit this dispute to impartial arbitration, and having been now finally apprised of her refusal," we should deal with the situation accordingly. He recommended the creation of a commission to make a thorough investigation of the facts relating to the boundary dispute and to report its findings to the government at the earliest possible date. If the report should be adverse to the British claim, he declared that in his opinion it would be the duty of the United States "to resist by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined belongs of right to Venezuela."<sup>12</sup> This vigorous statement was applauded by the people generally, but the money interests of New York especially were alarmed because they felt that Mr. Cleveland had "unsettled values," something in their eyes more important than any national policy, no matter how vital. Congress, forgetful

<sup>12</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. ix. p. 658.

of party differences, with singular unanimity passed an Act embodying the President's recommendations with regard to the creation of a commission. At this remarkable exhibition of American sentiment Lord Salisbury gave way and consented to submit the question to arbitration. Ultimately award was made sustaining in part the British claim, under the principle of prescription that fifty years' actual occupation gives title to the claimant, but securing to Venezuela the mouths of the Orinoco, which was the main point in importance. Thus, although Great Britain had won much so far as the question of territory between her and Venezuela was concerned, the United States had carried its point completely and a new and more potent meaning had been given to the Monroe Doctrine.<sup>13</sup>

Henceforth no one could question the dominant position of the United States on this hemisphere. One effect of the Venezuelan affair was to turn the eyes of the people of Great Britain and the United States toward arbitration as a means of settling disputes. Before the occurrence of the Venezuela episode Secretary Gresham had proposed to the British Government the conclusion of a treaty providing for the arbitration of nearly all important disputes likely to arise between the two nations. In January, 1897, a treaty for this purpose was signed by Secretary Olney and Lord Salisbury, but it failed of ratification in the Senate by a vote of 43 to 26, it being thought by some of the senators that certain disputes likely to arise could not, consistently with the sovereignty and interests of the United States, be settled by arbitration. There was much regret throughout the country that this most desirable treaty should have been rejected by the government which proposed it.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Grover Cleveland, "Presidential Problems," p. 280. For a criticism of President Cleveland's position, see J. W. Burgess on "Pseudo-Monroeism," in the *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. xi.

<sup>14</sup> Woolsey, "America's Foreign Policy," pp. 263-273.



## IV

## INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL DEPRESSION

At home the domestic tranquillity was disturbed by serious strike riots in and about Chicago in June, 1894. The troubles had their inception in a strike of the employés of the Pullman Palace Car Company at Pullman, near Chicago, in consequence of a reduction of wages. The company refused to restore the old wage or refer the question to arbitration. Thereupon the American Railway Union, embracing a membership of over 100,000 railroad employés, declared a sympathetic strike and refused to handle Pullman cars. Most, if not all, of the railway companies that hauled Pullman cars had contracts with the government to carry the mails and were at the same time engaged in interstate commerce. Consequently, when the strikers undertook to interfere with the movement of trains carrying Pullman cars, which they soon did, they found themselves obstructing the movement of the United States mails and throwing obstacles in the way of interstate commerce. Soon after the strike was declared disorders began. Trains were derailed, freight and passenger cars were burned, switches were destroyed or rendered useless, and even telegraph wires were cut. The movement of trains in and out of Chicago was almost completely obstructed. Mobs gathered at various places and committed acts of violence and destruction. It was clearly the duty of the State officials to preserve the peace and protect property, but they could not, or at all events did not.

The Constitution of the United States authorizes the President to interfere in such cases only upon application of the legislature, if it be in session; if not in session, then upon application of the governor. But the governor of Illinois,



Mr. Altgeld, neither made application to the President nor took adequate measures to suppress the disorders himself. The United States marshal and the United States district judge united in a letter to the President informing him that the mob had possession of the railroads, that they were destroying property, committing acts of violence, obstructing the movement of the mails, and that they jeered and hooted at the officers who attempted to serve writs on them and defied the injunctions of the courts.<sup>15</sup>

President Cleveland decided to wait no longer for an application from the governor, believing that the disturbances had reached such a point as to justify him in interfering. On July 3, therefore, he ordered a body of Federal troops from the nearby post of Fort Sheridan to Chicago, and in a few hours they were encamped on the lake front. On July 8 the President issued a proclamation in which he recited the existence of the disturbances, admonished all good citizens to abstain from aiding or encouraging the disorderly strikers, and warned the rioters to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, otherwise they should be treated as public enemies of the United States. E. V. Debs, president and organizer of the American Railway Union, and several of his associates, were arrested for defying an injunction which forbade them to do certain acts tending to incite domestic violence and the obstruction of the mails. They refused to give bail and went to prison to pose as martyrs in the hope that their comrades would be encouraged by their example to protract the strike. But this incident was not sufficient to revive their waning hopes, and in a few days the strike collapsed.

President Cleveland's action in ordering out Federal troops called forth an indignant protest from the governor of Illinois. He sent the national executive a dispatch saying

<sup>15</sup> Grover Cleveland, "Presidential Problems," p. 87.

that the State of Illinois was not only able to take care of itself, but stood ready to furnish the Federal government any assistance it might need elsewhere. He accused the President of discourtesy, asserted that his action was unnecessary and unjustifiable and asked for an immediate withdrawal of the Federal troops from the State. Mr. Cleveland made a spirited reply, saying that Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and the laws, upon the demand of the Post Office Department that the obstruction of the mails should be removed and upon the representation of the judicial officers of the United States that the processes of the Federal Courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof that conspiracies existed against interstate commerce. The correspondence between the President and the irate governor continued, until finally the President, somewhat out of patience, told him that he thought discussion ought to give way to active efforts on the part of those in authority to restore obedience to law and to protect life and property. Public sentiment was clearly with President Cleveland, the Supreme Court subsequently sustained the constitutionality of his course,<sup>16</sup> and posterity will no doubt give him the full meed of praise for his wise and vigorous action.

The year 1894 will long be remembered by the American people for the unfavorable industrial and financial conditions which prevailed. Besides the "Chicago strike," which in reality extended to half a dozen western States, there were other labor troubles. During the summer there was a protracted strike of 200,000 bituminous coal miners which paralyzed many industries of the country and caused widespread distress. Business was unusually dull, there was industrial depression everywhere, the prices of farm

<sup>16</sup> See the case of *in re Debs*, 158 U. S. Reports, p. 564; for President Cleveland's defense of his action, see his "Presidential Problems," pp. 79-121.

products fell so low that farmers were in despair; and added to this was the general failure of crops. Restlessness and discontent were widespread in the West. Armies of the unemployed under various names and banners were formed for the purpose of marching to Washington to demand relief of the government. Of these the one which attracted the most attention was the "Army of the Commonweal" formed by one "General" Coxey at Massillon, Ohio. Numbering about 1,000 men, they set out in March for Washington to demand of the government the issue of a wagon-load of fiat money to be paid to the unemployed for labor on the public highways. Supported largely by those who lived along the route, laughed at by idle crowds, recruited by tramps and loafers, they marched over the mountains and on April 28 they were in Washington three or four hundred strong, only to discover that they were a set of fools. Attempting to make a demonstration on the Capitol steps and grounds they were dispersed by the local police and their leaders arrested. This virtually ended the farce, and the remnant of the army returned to their homes sadder, and, it is to be hoped, wiser men. Similar but more serious movements took place in the far West. In some cases riots occurred in which both citizens and "commonwealers" were killed; in other cases freight trains were seized and pressed into service. Such were some of the evidences of popular discontent—a sad commentary, said the Republicans, upon the prosperity promised during the campaign in the event of Democratic success at the polls.

The government also had its share of troubles owing to the financial depression. The repeal of the Sherman law had not brought relief. The price of silver went down to an unprecedented point, while the gold reserve disappeared to an extent which alarmed the President and frightened business men. At the time of the resumption of specie pay-

ments in 1879 the gold reserve exceeded \$300,000,000. By July, 1893, it had fallen to \$97,000,000, and on November 24, 1894, it stood at \$57,000,000. Great distrust and apprehension prevailed in business and financial circles. Mr. Cleveland believed that the trouble was due to the practice of reissuing the United States notes (\$346,681,000) after redeeming them in gold instead of canceling them and thus stopping the drain on the Treasury. In vain did he appeal to Congress to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to retire them as fast as they were redeemed, but no argument or pressure could bring Congress to adopt the President's recommendation. Besides the drain caused by the practice of reissuing the "greenbacks," the President charged that the falling off of exports in consequence of the McKinley Act, thus requiring the payment to some extent of our balances in gold, the "unnatural infusion" of silver into our currency, the hoarding of gold at home and the high rate of foreign exchange were some of the causes which contributed to the financial stringency and the shrinkage in the gold reserve.<sup>17</sup>

Failing to secure the coöperation of Congress in protecting the gold reserve, the President set about doing all that the existing law could possibly be interpreted to permit. Early in 1894, under cover of the authority of a provision of the resumption Act, he sold fifty million dollars of bonds for \$58,633,295 in gold. But this replenishment proved to be insufficient, and on November 24 the gold reserve had fallen below \$57,000,000. Another issue of \$50,000,000 in bonds followed, but still the gold fund declined until it stood at the unprecedentedly low amount of \$41,340,000. At this juncture the President sent a long message to Congress describing the situation and requesting that authority be conferred upon the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds for the

<sup>17</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers," vol. ix. p. 643.



purpose of maintaining a "sufficient gold reserve" and for redeeming and canceling outstanding "greenbacks" and Sherman Treasury notes. But Congress took no action on the recommendation. In this emergency the President made an agreement with certain New York bankers and financiers by which the government borrowed \$62,000,000 in gold, at least half of which was to be furnished from abroad, and those supplying the gold were to do all in their power to aid the government in protecting the gold reserve. However necessary the act, the President's conduct was open to criticism for selling the bonds at what was perhaps less than their real value to a small group of Wall Street bankers instead of offering them to the public.<sup>18</sup> This arrangement, however, like the rest, did not check the withdrawals, and on December 2, 1895, the President was obliged to say that after a bonded indebtedness of \$162,000,000 had been incurred we were "nearly where we started."<sup>19</sup> The government, he said, had redeemed nine-tenths of the greenbacks with gold, and still owed them all. Later a popular loan of \$100,000,000 was made, but it was not until after the presidential election that confidence was restored and the financial stringency disappeared.

As the fateful year 1894 drew to a close the people went to the polls to choose members for the Fifty-third Congress. In view of the well-established practice of the voters to hold the party in power responsible for all their ills, economic, social, political, and otherwise, only one verdict was

<sup>18</sup> In defense of the charge of "issuing bonds in time of peace" Mr. Cleveland says: "Without shame and without repentance, I confess my share of the guilt; and I refuse to shield my accomplices in this crime who, with me, held high places in that administration. And though Mr. Morgan, Mr. Belmont, and scores of other bankers and financiers, who were accessories in these transactions, may be steeped in destructive propensities, and may be constantly busy in sinful schemes, I shall always recall with satisfaction and self-congratulation my association with them at a time when our country sorely needed their aid."—*Grover Cleveland, "Presidential Problems,"* p. 170.

<sup>19</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers," vol. ix. p. 694.



to be expected, especially when there were so many real grounds of dissatisfaction. The "landslide" of 1892 was reversed. The Democratic majority of 165 in the House of Representatives was transformed into a Republican majority of 140. Scarcely more than a dozen Democratic members were elected from the Northern States. The election of Republican legislatures in the North also insured a Republican plurality in the Senate. For the last two years of Mr. Cleveland's term, therefore, he was checked by a hostile Congress, making it impossible for him to carry out any party measures. Opposed also by many of his own party, his administration drifted along until the end came, on March 4, 1897, and there is little doubt that he turned the government over to his successor with a profound sense of relief, in which the feeling of gratitude that the candidate of his own party had been defeated was not inconspicuous.

## V

### CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; THE NEW NAVY; THE WORLD'S FAIR

For his course in the matter of Civil Service reform President Cleveland won the applause of many citizens of both parties who longed to see the merit system established as the basis of appointments to the government service. It will be remembered that the Civil Service law permitted the President to extend the rules to cover many classes of appointees not covered in the original Act. Few or no extensions had been made during the preceding administration, and when Cleveland became President only about 40,000, or about one-half of the positions contemplated by the Pendleton Act, were in the classified service. By successive orders large extensions, which might have looked better if the



Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company

Modern Battleship

Wooden Frigate, 1800

# EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN BATTLESHIP



positions had not previously been filled by the appointment of Democrats, were made by Mr. Cleveland, so that when he retired from the Presidency 85,000 places, or practically all positions under the government (excepting fourth-class postmasterships) contemplated by the Civil Service Law had been classified and brought under the rules.<sup>20</sup> Various orders were also issued looking to the improvement of the service by a better system of transfers, promotions and examinations.

The action of Cleveland in placing under the rules the employés of the President's office but a few weeks before his term expired called forth strong criticism from the Republicans, and it certainly was contrary to the Jeffersonian idea that the retiring President should make no appointments after the election of his successor.

The development of the navy during Cleveland's term deserves a word of notice. It was in 1883, during Arthur's administration, that Congress first authorized the construction of new ships, and, what was even more important, prohibited the repair of the old wooden vessels. This policy was continued during Cleveland's first term and under General Harrison's. At the beginning of Mr. Cleveland's second term about twenty vessels, battleships, cruisers, rams, gunboats, and monitors were in process of construction, and before he retired four first-class and two second-class battle ships, two armored cruisers, one harbor defense, and five double-turreted monitors, including the *Terror* and the *Puritan*, were completed and placed in commission.<sup>21</sup> The time was near at hand when these vessels were to render good service to the Republic, and to aid in teaching the Old World to respect the naval power of the New.

<sup>20</sup> Fish, "The Civil Service and the Patronage," p. 225. See also Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. ix. pp. 513-523, for President Cleveland's orders relating to changes in the Civil Service rules.

<sup>21</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. ix. p. 457.

Except the tariff bill, already described, there were no important legislative measures passed during Cleveland's second administration. In his relations with Congress he showed the same firmness in the exercise of his veto power as during the first term, although the example of his previous term deterred Congress from sending him many objectionable bills. A considerable number of bills, however, were disapproved, among them, unfortunately, an immigration



U. S. BATTLESHIP "INDIANA" IN THE HARBOR OF NEW YORK, DURING THE WINTER OF 1897

bill which sought to exclude all immigrants over sixteen years of age who could not read or write the English or some other language. The President said in his veto message that he could not believe that we would be protected against the evils of immigration by excluding those who could not read or write. It was infinitely safer, he said, to admit 100,000 illiterates who were seeking homes and opportunities among



us, than to admit one unruly agitator who could not only read and write, but could by speech influence the passions of the discontented and incite them to violence and disorder.

A memorable event of a non-political character during Cleveland's second term was the World's Columbian Exposition held at Chicago in the summer and autumn of 1893. As the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus approached, the idea was conceived of commemorating the event by a gigantic exposition, under



LOOKING NORTH FROM THE OBELISK, CHICAGO EXPOSITION

national auspices, which should exhibit the industrial progress and resources of the United States on a scale which had never before been attempted. Congress approved the plan, and after a spirited contest selected Chicago as the city in which the exposition should be held. As a national aid to the exposition Congress also appropriated two million dollars in the form of souvenir coins, and expended as much more for the erection of a government building and for the preparation and installation of exhibits. The city govern-

ment of Chicago made the exposition a loan of \$5,000,000, while many millions more were raised by private subscription among the citizens of that enterprising municipality. Ten or twelve millions were also appropriated by the individual States and by foreign nations. Jackson Park, an unimproved region of marsh and morass on the lower lake front, was selected as the site of the Fair, and through the skill of the landscape gardener it was quickly transformed into a garden of unsurpassed beauty, interspersed with lagoons, canals, bridges, beds of flowers, and shrubbery. On the site thus selected was erected a vast group of buildings for the most part of a cheap but durable material which resembled white marble. On account of the dazzling effect which it presented the entire group was given the name of the "White City." The largest structure was the Manufactures building, which covered forty-four acres. Besides this mammoth structure were the Administration, Agricultural, Horticultural, Transportation, Mining, Fisheries, Electricity, Art, Machinery, and Woman's buildings. Then there were the United States Government building, the various State buildings, and the foreign buildings. It being found impossible to complete the preparations in time to open the Fair in the anniversary year, 1892, the opening was postponed until May 1, 1893. The ceremonies of the opening day were elaborate and were participated in by many distinguished persons, among others, President Cleveland and the Duke of Veragua, the latter a lineal descendant of Christopher Columbus. President Cleveland delivered an address, and, after he had concluded, touched an electric button which set the machinery moving, the fountains playing, the flags flying, and the chimes ringing. The great exposition was then officially declared open to the public. Never before had so many rare and varied exhibits been collected in one place. The criticism of the Philadelphia

Centennial, that the art exhibit was its poorest feature, could not be applied to the Chicago Fair. The latter, in fact, had a spacious building devoted wholly to works of art, and the collection there exhibited was by far the largest and best ever seen in this country. From the first day of May until the last day of October the exposition was open to visitors, and from the first to last over 10,000,000 persons are estimated to have entered its gates. The paid-up admissions were over



OBELISK AND THE PALACE OF MECHANICS' ART, CHICAGO EXPOSITION

21,000,000, while the total attendance was over 27,000,000. On "Chicago Day," October 9, the anniversary of the great fire, over 716,000 persons passed through the gates.<sup>22</sup> The total receipts exceeded \$15,000,000. Fortunately few of the buildings were designed to be permanent, for shortly after the close of the exposition a fire broke out and, as a result of the highly combustible character of the material of which the buildings were constructed, it proved impos-

<sup>22</sup> Appleton's "Annual Cyclopaedia," 1893, p. 762.

sible to stay the flames. One after another of the great structures quickly succumbed, and in less than an hour the White City, which had been the Mecca of millions from all corners of the earth, was only a memory.

Two years later, in 1895, a successful exposition, surpassed among its predecessors in the United States only by those at Chicago and Philadelphia, was held at Atlanta, Georgia. Its buildings and grounds were beautiful and in good taste, and the exhibits interesting and creditable. They revealed, as no former exposition had done, the industrial progress of the South since the War. A notable feature was the Negro building, filled with varied exhibits showing the progress of the negro as a farmer, artisan, and educator. An incident of the opening ceremonies, on September 18, not without significance, was an address by Booker T. Washington, the colored educator, containing an eloquent and sensible plea for kindly relations between the white and black races of the South. The address attracted wide attention throughout the country, and revealed Professor Washington as the coming leader of his race.

## Chapter XLIII

### WILLIAM McKINLEY—THE WAR WITH SPAIN. 1897-1901

#### I

##### ELECTION OF 1896

**I**N the presidential campaign of 1896 the question of the free coinage of silver was the paramount issue, although the discontent and hard times, which the Republicans attributed to the Wilson Bill, gave great force to the Republican demand for a true protective tariff. For years the project of throwing the mints of the United States open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver had been steadily growing in favor with the masses, especially in those sections of the country which lay remote from the great money and industrial centers of the country. The owners of silver mines in the West naturally favored it, because of the demand which such a policy would create for the product of their mines. The farmers wanted it because they believed it would increase the volume of money in circulation and thus restore prosperity in place of the hard times then existing. Finally, there were a large number of intelligent men of all occupations and professions who believed that the "discrimination" of the government against silver in favor of gold operated in the interests of the money power to the detriment of the masses of the people. They believed that a return to the policy of the "fathers," by which the two metals were treated alike at the mints, would mean a return



to sound financial conditions. Nor were the advocates of free coinage wholly confined to the ranks of any particular political party. An important minority of the Republicans, most of the Democrats, and all the Populists had been carried away by the idea. It was only President Cleveland's determined stand in 1892, backed, as he was, by the Eastern Democrats, which kept his party from then making the question of free coinage, instead of the tariff, the dominant issue. Now, he was no longer able to control, or even influence, his party and the Democrats made silver the issue, and thereby absorbed the Populists.

The first of the great national conventions to assemble for the purpose of nominating candidates and formulating issues was that of the Republicans, which met at St. Louis on June 16. Public sentiment in the party had already agreed upon William McKinley, of Ohio, as the nominee for President, although Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, had a strong and influential following. Mr. McKinley was nominated on the first ballot, receiving more than two-thirds of the votes of the convention, while Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was chosen for Vice President. The Republican platform characterized Cleveland's administration as one of "unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster." It eulogized protection and reciprocity as "twin measures of Republican policy," and declared in favor of sugar bounties, legislative encouragement for the merchant marine, American "control" of Hawaii, the purchase of the Danish West India Islands, and the construction by the United States of the Nicaragua Canal; reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine in "its full extent"; and demanded that the government of the United States should use its influence and good offices to restore peace in, and give independence to, Cuba. On the all important question of the currency the platform pronounced as follows: "We are opposed to the free coin-

age of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and, until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved." This emphatic pronouncement in favor of the gold standard was opposed by the free silver delegates, and a determined effort was made by Senator Teller of Colorado, the leader of this element, to secure the adoption of a free silver plank as a substitute. Being defeated by an overwhelming vote of the convention, Senator Teller, followed by some thirty free silver delegates, formally withdrew from the convention and refused to support the ticket and platform thus put forward.

The Democratic national convention met at Chicago July 7. Its position on the money question had already been determined by the action of the various State conventions, no less than thirty of which had pronounced emphatically in favor of free and unlimited coinage. It was plain from the moment the convention assembled that the free silver delegates were in the majority. The national committee, however, was made up of a majority of gold standard delegates, and it recommended David B. Hill of New York for temporary chairman; but he was not acceptable to the convention, and a staunch friend of silver, Senator Daniel of Virginia, was chosen instead. The increased representation of the Territories in the convention and the unseating of the "gold" delegation from Nebraska gave the silver men the two-thirds majority necessary to nominate the candidates. The platform adopted was unusually long and full of severe denunciation of the opposite party. It criticised the McKinley tariff as a "prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies," and denounced railroad "mergers," the "profligate waste and lavish appropriations of recent Congresses," government by injunction, and "arbitrary inter-

ference by the Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution and a crime against free institutions." It demanded an enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, a "return to simplicity and economy" in the administration of the government, and contained a declaration of sympathy for the Cuban insurgents. Over one-half the platform was devoted to the money question, which was declared to be "paramount to all others." "Until this question is settled," the declaration affirmed, "we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as may be necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court in the income tax case."

Silver was eulogized as the money of the Constitution equally with gold; its demonetization in 1873 was denounced as a "crime," responsible alike for the prostration of industry, the impoverishment of the people and the enrichment of the capitalistic classes at home and abroad. Gold monometalism was stigmatized as a British policy, not only un-American, but anti-American, and "totally destructive of the liberty and spirit of '76." Finally, the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation, was imperatively demanded. President Cleveland's whole financial policy, his issuing bonds in time of peace, his "trafficking with banking syndicates," all his efforts to maintain the gold reserve, were bitterly denounced as though they were the crimes and blunders of the opposing party. Mr. Cleveland's friends exerted themselves to secure the adoption of the customary resolution endorsing the administration, but it was voted down almost without respectful consideration. It was indeed a strange spectacle. A great political party openly repudiating and denouncing its former leader—the only one, too, with whom it had won a vic-

tory in forty years. The Supreme Court hitherto had escaped the denunciations of political conventions, but in 1896 it, too, fell under the ban of the Democratic party, and was severely denounced for having reversed its former decisions concerning the constitutionality of the income tax. At the same time a fling was made at the justices who concurred in the majority opinion, through the suggestion that the present decision might be reversed when the personnel of the court should be changed.

Having adopted a genuine Populistic platform, the convention proceeded to nominate its candidates. Public sentiment in the party had not fixed upon any one man, and hence there was a spirited contest for the nomination. Richard P. Bland of Missouri, the leader of the "Silverites" in the House; Governor Pattison of Pennsylvania, who enjoyed the unprecedented honor of having twice carried the Keystone State for the Democrats, and Governor Boies of Iowa were recognized as the leading candidates at the time of the assembling of the convention. But in the course of the debate on the free silver plank a new leader was discovered. This man was William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, who championed the cause of silver on the floor of the convention in an impassioned speech in which he referred to the gold standard men as wishing to "press down upon the brow of labor a crown of thorns," and "to crucify mankind



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN  
Photograph from life



upon a cross of gold." This brilliant outburst of high-flown eloquence swept the convention off its feet, or rather the free silver portion of it, and insured the nomination of the young Nebraskan. When the balloting began next day Mr. Bland was in the lead, but he was soon outdistanced by Mr. Bryan, who was nominated on the fifth ballot. Arthur Sewall, a wealthy shipbuilder of Maine, was nominated for Vice President as a concession to the Eastern money power.

The delegates opposed to free silver took no part in the work of nominating the candidates. They had exerted themselves to secure the adoption of a less radical plank on the money question, and also an endorsement of the Cleveland administration, and being overridden, they announced their intention to take no further part in the proceedings, although they did not formally withdraw from the convention. Thousands of Democrats throughout the country, and especially in the East, felt that they could not endorse this platform. It seemed to them that the control of the party had fallen into the hands of men who were not in reality Democrats, but Populists, and that the principles enunciated in the Chicago platform were such as no good Democrat could support. At the same time they were unwilling to support the Republican candidates, and so it was resolved to nominate a ticket for which they could vote without self-stultification. After repeated conferences among the leaders, a convention representing forty-one States was held at Indianapolis on September 2, and it adopted a platform denouncing the "fiscal heresy" of the Chicago platform, passed a resolution in favor of the gold standard, and endorsed the administration of President Cleveland. The convention then nominated Generals John M. Palmer of Illinois for President, and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky for Vice President.

The Populist party held its convention in St. Louis, adopted a platform similar to that of 1892, and nominated



Mr. Bryan for President and Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice President. Mr. Bryan received still a third nomination from the National Silver Party, which met in St. Louis at the same time. The Prohibitionist Party, the National Party, and the Socialist Labor Party all put tickets in the field, but their strength was too insignificant to affect the result.

The campaign which ensued was remarkable for the very general discussion of financial and economic questions and for the unusual popular interest aroused. Mr. Bryan traveled up and down the country for several months delivering speeches to vast throngs of people who turned out to hear him. Everywhere excited crowds pressed about this young tribune of the people and hundreds of thousands were moved by his eloquence. No one could mistake the earnestness of his appeals or his deep conviction that the triumph of his financial ideas alone could redress the wrongs of the people. Frequently he addressed as many as a dozen audiences in a single day. His physical endurance and the eagerness of the people to hear him were among the most remarkable features of the canvass and a constant source of amazement. Mr. McKinley, on the other hand, followed Mr. Harrison's example, remained quietly at his home in Canton, Ohio, and from his doorsteps welcomed over 700,000 visitors and delivered more than 300 speeches to visiting delegations. His addresses were either the felicitous expressions of a welcoming host to the pilgrims who flocked to his threshold, or a calm, dignified discussion of the political issues involved, all of which made a favorable impression upon the country.

On account of the defections from the various parties it was difficult to forecast the result. Everywhere there was disintegration and confusion and many who had never once faltered in their party allegiance scarcely knew where to

turn. Many Eastern Democrats, rather than throw away their votes on the Palmer-Buckner candidates, decided to vote the Republican ticket and thus contribute more directly to the triumph of the sound-money policy. This defection from the Democratic party was, however, probably more than offset by the thousands of Republicans in the West who gave their support to Bryan. Even the Prohibitionists were divided among themselves on the all important question of silver, and some voted for Bryan, others for McKinley. In the ranks of the Populists there was hopeless dissension. The "middle-of-the-road" faction strongly objected to the alliance with the Democrats, and it was this element which prevented the nomination by the Populists of Mr. Bryan's associate, Sewall, because he was a rich Eastern manufacturer. Instead, they nominated a Southern Populist, Watson of Georgia, the result of which would have been to throw the election of the Vice President into the Senate had Mr. Bryan been elected President.

The issues of the campaign were purely political and the canvass wholly free from the personalities of previous elections. The personal characters of Mr. Bryan and Mr. McKinley were absolutely unimpeachable. In their habits and domestic life both were model American citizens. Both had grown up on the farm, both had studied in a small college, and both had become successful lawyers. Mr. McKinley was the older, being at the time of his nomination in his fifty-third year and a veteran of the Civil War. Mr. Bryan had just turned his thirty-sixth year, being the youngest presidential nominee in the history of the country. For fifteen years Mr. McKinley had been a member of Congress and by sheer force of ability had raised himself to the position of its leader. Defeated by his opponent in the Democratic "landslide" of 1892, the people of Ohio made him their governor the following year. His public record had

been open and clean. All that his opponents could say against him was that he was the author of the tariff bill which bore his name and that he had once been an advocate of free silver, which he was now condemning. Mr. Bryan's public career had been short and uneventful. He had served two terms in Congress, but aside from a speech on the tariff question had done little to attract public attention. The speeches following his nomination for the Presidency, however, made him immensely popular with the masses of his party and brought out his remarkable qualities of leadership.

The currency question was almost the only issue discussed by the campaign orators. The Democratic speakers talked glibly of the "dollar of our fathers," of the "crime of '73," and denounced the Eastern "gold bugs" and "plutocrats" as enemies of their country, who would willingly see the United States pay tribute to the money power of Great Britain. They maintained that the adoption of the gold standard would result chiefly in the benefit of the capitalistic classes, that it would curtail the volume of the people's money, and that it would be followed by an unprecedented fall in the price of silver and of all other commodities to the great detriment of the laboring and industrial classes. Republican orators, on the other hand, spoke of their opponents as "popocrats," as disgruntled agitators, and imputed to them a desire to pay off existing debts in cheap money. They contended that the opening of our mints to the free coinage of silver without limitation would result in the flooding of the country with a depreciated silver currency; that gold would instantly disappear, leaving the country on a silver basis such as prevailed in China and Mexico; and lastly that the substitution of a "cheap" dollar in place of the gold dollar would involve a repudiation of a part of the national debt, would impair the rights of private creditors, and reduce by half the purchasing power

of the income of wage earners. The Democratic contention that the action of a powerful nation like the United States in opening its mints to silver would create a sufficient demand for the white metal to maintain a "parity" between gold and silver the Republicans denounced as fallacious, and asserted that the coöperation of other nations was impracticable.

In the course of the campaign Mr. Bryan committed the error of not confining his argument to the merits of the silver question, but fell to abusing the rich, thus arraying class against class. Everywhere business men, men of wealth and substance, fell away from him, while scarcely a large corporation was left to contribute funds to the Democratic campaign committee for the prosecution of the canvass.

As election day drew near the popular interest and excitement reached an unprecedented pitch. Not since the Civil War had the country been so stirred by a presidential election. Business was to a large degree suspended in expectation of the result. The September elections in Maine and Vermont resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Republicans, thus furnishing an indication of the drift of sentiment at the North and East. When, therefore, on November 3 the fourteen million voters went to the polls it was pretty clear what the result would be. The Republicans carried by unprecedented majorities every State north of the Potomac and Ohio rivers and east of the Mississippi. For the first time since the days of reconstruction the "Solid" South was broken, for the Republicans carried Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and even Kentucky. McKinley's electoral vote was 271, while Bryan received 176. The popular vote, however, was much closer, McKinley's plurality over Bryan being only about 280,000.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>The popular vote was as follows: Republican, 7,111,607; Democratic, 6,509,052; Populist, 222,583; "Gold" Democratic, 134,645; Prohibitionist, 131,312; the National Party, 13,968; and the Socialist Labor Party, 36,373.—*Stanwood, "History of the Presidency,"* p. 567.



“gold” Democrats contributed much to McKinley’s election, for which they received the unsparing denunciation of the Bryan Democrats. The election of McKinley insured the continuance, for a time at least, of the gold standard; business soon revived, and it is needless to say that the calamities which the Bryanites predicted never came to pass.

## II

### THE DINGLEY TARIFF; FINANCIAL LEGISLATION; RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN

William McKinley was inaugurated twenty-fourth President of the United States, March 4, 1897, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators and attended by a splendid military and civic display.<sup>2</sup> Two days after the inauguration he issued a proclamation summoning Congress to meet in special session on March 15 for the purpose of revising the tariff, an act made necessary on account of the inadequacy of the revenues under the Wilson Bill. Shortly after the meeting of Congress in extraordinary session Nelson Dingley of Maine, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, brought in a tariff bill which was rushed through the House in the face of the Democratic demand for more time in which to examine and discuss the measure. In the Senate, however, the bill made slower progress and was amended in some eight hundred particulars. Most of the Senate amendments were accepted by the conference committee, appointed to harmonize the two houses, and before the end

<sup>2</sup> President McKinley’s Cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, John Sherman of Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman J. Gage of Illinois; Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger of Michigan; Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, Cornelius N. Bliss of New York; Attorney General, Joseph McKenna of California, who was succeeded in 1898 by John W. Griggs of New Jersey; Postmaster General, James A. Gary of Indiana; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson of Iowa.



of July the bill had become law. As finally passed the Dingley Bill restored the high rates of the McKinley Bill, and on many articles of necessary consumption even much higher duties were imposed. A prominent feature of the Dingley Act was the reciprocity provision which authorized



WILLIAM MCKINLEY  
Photograph from life

the negotiation of treaties allowing a reduction of duties on certain commodities when imported from countries which were willing to grant to the United States reciprocal and equivalent concessions. In pursuance of this provision eleven reciprocity treaties were negotiated, but all failed of ratification by the Senate, mainly because the diversity of interests

in the country aroused the opposition of some State to each measure. The Republicans, therefore, hardly lived up to the declaration in their national platform of 1896, that protection and reciprocity were "twin measures" of Republican policy, for while one of the "twins" was nourished and allowed to grow strong and lusty, the other was neglected and allowed to languish and die.

In the following year some important financial legislation was enacted in obedience to the recommendation of the President in his annual message of December, 1898. Interpreting the results of the election as a mandate from the people, Congress passed an Act for the maintenance of the gold standard. By this Act the gold dollar was made the unit of value and provision was made for a gold reserve of \$150,000,000, while the means for protecting it were also provided. The refunding of the national debt in two per cent. thirty year bonds was authorized and the national banking law was amended so as to permit the organization of national banks with a capital of \$25,000, and empowering them to issue notes to the par value of their United States bonds deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury, instead of ninety per cent., as provided in the old law. As a concession to bimetallic sentiment a commission was sent abroad to urge international coöperation upon the part of the European governments for restoring silver to a position of equality with gold, but, like previous efforts, it failed, and gold became the irrevocable standard.

Still another important legislative measure was a Federal Bankruptcy Act, which became law July 1, 1898, and which is believed to be a distinct improvement on previous measures of the kind. The present law provides for both voluntary and involuntary bankruptcy, and with certain exceptions is applicable to both traders and non-traders.

The foreign relations of the United States in the early

days of the McKinley administration were marked by friction with Great Britain on account of the revival of the fur seal controversy. The lapse of the *modus vivendi* in 1897 was followed by a renewal, upon the part of the Can-



Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company  
CLIMBING THE CHILKOOT PASS ON THE  
WAY TO THE KLONDIKE

adians, of pelagic sealing, involving as it did the indiscriminate slaughter of the young seals and of the females. A conference of representatives of several powers, including the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, was held to discuss the question of prohibiting pelagic sealing. The conference reached an agreement only as to certain facts, namely, that the herd had decreased, since 1884, to one-third or one-fifth its former size, and that hunting on the open sea was destructive to the industry. The United States Government then proposed to Great Britain that pelagic sealing be suspended, but the British Government pointedly refused to reopen the question. Secretary Sherman then

caused a sensation by sending a dispatch to Mr. Hay, the American ambassador in London, intimating that the British Government was guilty of bad faith in thus peremptorily refusing to discuss the question. The British press resented Mr. Sherman's insinuation, but other circumstances

soon occurred to bring about an unusual feeling of cordiality between the two countries. As a result of this pronounced friendliness an agreement was reached in May, 1898, for the creation of a Joint High Commission to deal with this and other matters in dispute between the two countries. The commission met at Quebec in August, and later adjourned to meet in Washington on November 10. No definite settlement of the question was reached, although in October, of the following year, a temporary and provisional understanding was agreed upon.

Aside from the seal fisheries and the Alaska boundary dispute, public interest in the Northwest was still further increased by the discoveries of gold in the Klondike region, far up the Yukon. Instantly there was a great rush of gold seekers from the States to this distant and inhospitable country, and their sufferings were scarcely less than those of the California Argonauts of 1849. A new appreciation, however, was given to the natural resources of the far Northwest, and incidentally a new turn to the Alaskan boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain, since the control of White and Chilkoot Passes, gateways to the gold region, was involved. But all efforts at this time to reach an agreement upon the disputed points ended in failure.

### III

#### THE WAR WITH SPAIN

The event of President McKinley's administration which overshadowed all others, however, was the war with Spain, brought on by Spanish misrule and cruelty in the nearby island of Cuba. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain was the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere, her dominion covering practically all of South



and Central America, except Brazil, a large part of North America, and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. One by one these possessions were lost, until to-day the former powerful empire of Charles V. remains only a third-rate power among the nations of Europe, and no longer controls a foot of territory on the Western Hemisphere.

Goaded to desperation by the despotic rule of the mother country, with their resources exploited to satisfy the greed and avarice of the Spanish monarchs, and their revenues appropriated for the enrichment of Spain, while they themselves were neglected, the Central and South American colonies rose in revolt, achieved their independence and became nominally republics, after the North American model. Thus, by the time the nineteenth century was well on its way the Spanish possessions on the Western continent had been reduced to the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, in the West Indies. Instead of profiting by the admonitions of the past, the Spanish Government continued its short-sighted policy of tyranny and corruption in dealing with its two remaining possessions. At various times during the century the Cubans, encouraged by filibusters from the United States, revolted against the despotism of Spanish rule, but always without permanent success.

In 1868 an insurrection broke out in the island which lasted ten years. The people of the United States naturally felt a deep interest in the conflict and it was only by the strictest vigilance in the enforcement of the neutrality laws that our citizens were prevented from going to the aid of the struggling Cubans. The government resisted all popular pressure and pursued throughout the struggle a policy of neutrality, although, as has been stated, President Grant was deterred from recognizing the belligerency of the Cubans only through the interposition of Secretary Fish. In 1878 the insurrection collapsed, but early in 1895 it broke



out again on a larger scale. General Martinez Campos with a large army was sent over to put down the rebellion, but his methods were not severe enough to satisfy the Spanish Government and he was recalled and the less humane Weyler appointed to succeed him in January, 1896. Weyler proceeded ruthlessly to destroy houses and growing crops, and to prohibit, as far as possible, all productive industry. The chief feature of his policy was the "concentration" of the non-combatants into the towns, to prevent their giving aid to the insurgents. Penned up in filthy camps, and poorly fed, their condition became truly pitiable. Thousands died of starvation or disease, and it began to look as if Weyler intended to desolate and depopulate the entire island.

The people of the United States could not remain indifferent to this wholesale murder within sight of their shores, and strong indignation was expressed at General Weyler's atrocious methods. In his annual message of December 7,

1896, President Cleveland adverted to the progress of the insurrection and declared that it could not reasonably be assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States would be maintained indefinitely. The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, was one, he said, which could not but engage the attention of the United States, both by reason of its geographical proximity and the



VALERIANO WEYLER  
Photograph from life

enormous financial interests of the American people in the island. It was estimated that between thirty and fifty million dollars of American capital were invested in plantations, railroads, mining, and other business enterprises on the island, while our trade with Cuba, which had formerly amounted to over one hundred million dollars annually, was being destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

The government of the United States now tendered its good offices to bring about a termination of the conflict, but without effect. After two years of vigorous methods, Spain had failed to suppress the insurrection and it now seemed as if an indefinite prolongation of the conflict and the utter ruin of the island would follow. Apropos of this situation President Cleveland declared that when Spain's inability to deal successfully with the insurrection should become manifest, and when a hopeless struggle for reestablishment of her sovereignty should have degenerated into a useless sacrifice of human life, a situation would be presented in which our obligations to Spain would be superseded by higher obligations. When Mr. McKinley became President he demanded the release of American prisoners in the island and requested the Spanish Government to put an end to the horrible conditions existing therein. The assassination of the Spanish prime minister, Señor Cánovas, by an anarchist in August, 1897, brought the Liberal Sagasta to the head of the government, and in response to the pressure from the United States he recalled Weyler, promised the establishment of an autonomous government in the island, released the American prisoners and promised to ameliorate the condition of the wretched *reconcentrados*. But this did not pacify the insurgents, and they rejected the offer of autonomy with practical unanimity. In view of the modification of the Spanish policy in the island, President McKinley expressed the opinion in his annual message of December 6,

<sup>3</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. ix. p. 718.

1897, that the time for intervention on the part of the United States had not yet come. Spain, he said, should be given a reasonable chance to "prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things." Although the policy of the government was one of non-intervention, the people of the country were not inactive spectators and responded generously to the cries of the starving Cubans for aid. The Spanish Government admitted free of duty all articles contributed for the relief of the sufferers, and large quantities of supplies and contributions in money were sent for their use.

Early in February, 1898, occurred the first of a series of incidents which precipitated the conflict. This was the publication by the Cuban junta at New York of a private letter written by the Spanish minister at Washington, Señor Dupuy de Lome, to a Spanish editor, in which the writer referred to President McKinley as a "pot-house politician and caterer to the rabble," who sought to stand well with both the Spanish minister and the "jingo" of his party. De Lome was forced to acknowledge the authenticity of the letter, and to relieve his government from possible embarrassment promptly cabled his resignation to Madrid. It was immediately accepted by the Spanish Government, De Lome left the country and the incident was declared closed.

On the evening of the following day, February 15, while public sentiment was still in a state of exasperation on account of the De Lome incident, the United States battleship *Maine*, while anchored in the harbor of Havana, whither it had gone on a friendly visit, was blown up by a tremendous explosion, and 266 of the vessel's crew lost their lives. When the news reached the United States excitement was at fever heat, but the advice of Captain Sigsbee, commander of the ill-fated battleship, that the American people should suspend judgment until an investigation could be made, was generally heeded. The Spanish authorities exerted themselves to

rescue and relieve the survivors, and rendered impressive funeral honors to the dead. A naval board of inquiry was appointed, and after a careful investigation it reported that the *Maine* was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, but that no evidence had been obtained fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the vessel. The Spanish authorities likewise appointed a commission of inquiry, and it reported that the destruction of the vessel was due to some interior cause; but the people of the United States had no



Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company

U. S. BATTLESHIP "MAINE" ENTERING THE HARBOR OF HAVANA  
JANUARY, 1898

doubt in their own minds that the *Maine* was destroyed as the result of Spanish treachery. On March 17 Senator Proctor of Vermont, who had just returned from a tour of inspection in the island, made a speech in the Senate describing the wretched conditions which had come under his personal observation. His description of the desolation in the island, the sufferings of the *reconcentrados*, the hopelessness of the Spanish struggle, created a profound impression throughout the United States and stirred public feeling to a high pitch.

In the meantime President McKinley, who wished to



avoid war, if possible, and who realized the advantages of a delay long enough to prepare for the struggle, had proposed to the Spanish Government an armistice until October 1, and the restoration of the *reconcentrados* to their homes. The reply of the Spanish Government was not satisfactory to the President, and on April 11 he sent a long message to Congress reviewing the situation in Cuba since the outbreak of the insurrection, and recommending the intervention of the United States on the general grounds of humanity, the protection of our citizens in Cuba, the preservation of our trade and industry, and because the existing condition of affairs in the island was a constant menace to our peace and a source of enormous expense to our government. "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests," said the President, "the war in Cuba must stop." He asked Congress to empower him to employ the army and navy to terminate the war and secure the establishment of a stable government. Concluding, the President said: "Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the laws, I await your action."<sup>4</sup> There could be no doubt as to what the action of Congress would be. Already in March both houses had voted unanimously \$50,000,000 to put the country on a war footing. The reply of Congress to the President's message was a joint resolution declaring that the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent, demanding of Spain the immediate relinquishment of its authority and government in Cuba, and directing and empowering the President to employ the army and navy and to call out the militia to enforce the national demand. At the same time a declaration was adopted disclaiming any intention upon the part of the United States of exercising sovereignty or control over the island, except such as might

<sup>4</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. x. p. 150.



be necessary for its pacification. The President thereupon sent an ultimatum to Spain demanding compliance with the resolution within three days. When this became known the Spanish minister at Washington demanded his passports and left for Canada, and on the following day, General Woodford, the American minister at Madrid, being informed that diplomatic relations with the United States were at an end, withdrew from Spain. On April 22 the first shot of the war was fired by the gunboat *Nashville*, and three days later Congress passed, without dissent, a formal declaration, reciting that war existed between the United States and Spain, and had existed since the 21st.

In the meantime active preparations for hostilities had been rapidly pushed. The \$50,000,000 which Congress had placed at the President's disposal early in March was utilized for the purchase of war vessels and the manufacture of arms and ammunition; while yachts, tugs, and merchant vessels were acquired and rapidly converted into an auxiliary fleet. The country realized that war was inevitable and awaited the formal declaration with impatience. The appropriation by Congress was considered as a definite war measure, and in the interval before the formal outbreak of hostilities the country was put on a war footing. Not only the national government, but States as well, took part in this preparation for war. The various National Guards were prepared for mobilization at a moment's notice. Scores of provisional regiments were raised and offered to the governors of the various States, so they could be called out as soon as the expected call for volunteers occurred. On April 25 the proclamation so eagerly awaited appeared. The President called for 125,000 two-year volunteers, and the regular army was reorganized and its strength increased from 27,000 to 61,000 men; provision was also made for the construction of 3 new battleships and some 30 odd monitors, torpedo boats and torpedo-

boat destroyers. To provide the increased revenue necessary, the taxes on beer and tobacco were largely increased and stamp duties on various articles were imposed. These preparatory measures were all passed with substantial unanimity, thus showing that no difference existed between Democrats and Republicans on the question of upholding the honor of the United States in the approaching conflict.

Concerning the methods of prosecuting hostilities, the government of the United States announced its intention to abstain from privateering and to observe the other rules of the Declaration of Paris, notwithstanding the fact that the United States was not one of the signatory powers to the declaration. Spain, also a non-signatory power of the Paris Declaration, announced that its course would be in substantial conformity thereto. Both governments, however, reserved the right to employ auxiliary cruisers under naval control. By a proclamation of April 22 the President declared the north coast of Cuba and also the port of Cienfuegos on the south coast in a state of blockade, announced that a sufficient force would be posted so as to prevent the entrance and exit of vessels from the blockaded ports, and gave notice that neutral vessels lying in any of the said ports at the time of the establishment of the blockade would be allowed thirty days to depart therefrom. Four days later the President issued a proclamation allowing Spanish merchant vessels in the ports and harbors of the United States twenty-five days to unload their cargoes and depart therefrom. Spanish merchant vessels which had sailed for an American port prior to April 21 were to be permitted to enter such port and to discharge her cargo and to depart without molestation. This liberal rule, which was subsequently extended by judicial interpretation,<sup>5</sup> contrasted very favorably with the privileges accorded American vessels bound for Spanish ports. Con-

<sup>5</sup> The case of the *Buena Ventura*, U. S. Reports, vol. clxxv. p. 384.

cerning the right of search, President McKinley directed that all searches should be conducted with "strict regard" for the rights of neutrals, and that mail steamers should not be interfered with "except upon the clearest ground of sus-



GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER

Photograph from life

picion of a violation of law in respect of contraband or blockade."<sup>6</sup>

The response to the President's call for volunteers was prompt and generous. As quickly as possible the volunteer forces were assembled at convenient points and the recruiting of the regular army proceeded apace. Eleven major

<sup>6</sup> Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. x. pp. 204-205.

generals were appointed, among them Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, formerly gallant leaders in the Confederate army. The naval forces of the United States were divided into three parts: The North Atlantic Squadron under com-



ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY  
Photograph from life

mand of Captain W. T. Sampson, at Key West; the Flying Squadron under command of Commodore Schley, at Hampton Roads, and the Asiatic Squadron, under command of Commodore George Dewey, at Hong Kong.

The first real engagement of the war was the bombardment, on April 27, by three American warships, of Spanish forts in process of construction at Mantanzas. After a rapid



fire of twenty minutes the forts were completely demolished. Four days later, May 1, occurred the most notable victory of the war, namely, the destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. Receiving orders a week before to proceed to the Philippines and destroy or capture the Spanish fleet, Dewey with nine vessels sailed from Hong Kong, and on the night of April 30, to the surprise and amazement of the Spaniards, ran past the Spanish batteries which defended the entrance to the harbor and proceeded leisurely down the bay toward Manila, twenty miles distant. It was a perilous undertaking, for his path was said to be strewn with mines and not a man of the crew had ever been in the bay before. In the early morning hours of May 1 Dewey was attacked by the Spanish fleet of ten vessels, commanded by Admiral Montojo. Montojo's fleet was inferior in quality to that of Dewey's, but it had the advantage of fighting in its own waters and of having the support of the batteries on shore. A short but severe naval battle ensued, in which every ship in both fleets took part.

The superior marksmanship of the American gunners easily triumphed over the wild and ineffective firing of the Spaniards—for only once did their shots injure a man or gun on the American fleet. By noon the Spanish fleet was totally destroyed and 380 Spaniards killed or wounded. Several Americans were wounded, but not one was killed, nor was a single American vessel disabled. It was one of the most brilliant and successful naval victories in the annals of warfare; by it Spanish naval power in the East was completely obliterated and the United States raised to the position of first rank among naval powers of the world. After destroying the Spanish fleet Dewey took possession of Cavite and, with the American army, supported by the Filipino forces under their leader Aguinaldo, captured the city of Manila with 13,000 men on August 13.



In the West Indies events had followed with almost equal rapidity. In the latter part of May the Spanish fleet commanded by Admiral Cervera, which had sailed from Cape Verde Islands some weeks before, took refuge in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. The combined squadrons of Sampson and Schley went in search of the Spanish fleet after hearing of its arrival in West Indian waters, and having discovered it in the harbor of Santiago, instituted a blockade to prevent its escape. Incidents of the operations against Santiago



U. S. BATTLESHIP "OREGON"

From a photograph

were the timely arrival of the *Oregon*, after a remarkable voyage of 14,000 miles from the Pacific Coast, by way of Cape Horn, and the daring exploit of young Lieutenant Hobson, who with three companions entered the harbor in the darkness of night and sunk the *Merrimac*, with a view to blockading the channel and preventing the possible escape of the Spanish fleet.

While the combined fleets of Schley and Sampson were keeping guard at the entrance to Santiago harbor, a military expedition of over 16,000 men, under Major General William R. Shafter, had landed on the southern coast of Cuba

and was marching upon Santiago from the rear. Pushing on through a hilly and densely-wooded country in the face of an obstinate resistance, they drove the enemy back at Las Quasimas on June 24, and on July 1 carried the heights of San Juan and El Caney, a fortified town near Santiago, after a desperate assault. Of the 16,500 Americans engaged, about 240 were killed and 1,400 wounded. Conspicuous among those who won distinction in these engagements were



COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND TWO ROUGH RIDER  
ORDERLIES AT SAN JUAN

Generals Wheeler, Young, Lawton and Chaffee and Colonels Roosevelt and Wood. Santiago was now closely invested on three sides, but the position of the American forces was not comfortable. As is so often the case in war, the commissariat was at fault. Food was bad and insufficient. The heat was almost unendurable and hundreds of the soldiers fell sick. There was talk of retreating, but General Wheeler, Colonel

Roosevelt and others resolutely opposed this plan and a demand was made upon the enemy to surrender the city. Cervera, meantime, seeing that the fate of Santiago was sealed, resolved to make an attempt to escape with his fleet, and early in the morning of July 3, with the *Maria Theresa* leading, his vessels slipped out of the harbor which



DEFEAT OF CERVERA AT SANTIAGO  
The "Brooklyn" Chasing the "Almirante Colon"



Hobson had endeavored to block, and made a fatal dash for liberty. Admiral Sampson had started for Guantanamo to confer with General Shafter, and although still within signal distance was out of the fight at the beginning. But his standing orders, posted in every conning tower, were at once acted on by the captains and by Commodore Schley in the *Brooklyn*. Descrying the escaping enemy, they at once gave chase, and under their terrific and well-directed fire the seven Spanish vessels, one by one, were destroyed, the *Oregon* delivering the finishing stroke. About 600 Spaniards were killed or drowned, and some 1,700, among them Admiral Cervera, were taken prisoners. The American loss was one man killed and one wounded.

The besieging army having been reënforced to 21,000 men, the women and children were removed and the beleaguered city was bombarded from land and sea. On July 17 it was surrendered to General Shafter, not only with its own garrison, but that of the entire province, amounting to 24,000 men. According to the terms of capitulation the United States agreed to transport the surrendered troops to Spain free of cost to the Spanish Government, and early in August the stipulation was carried into effect. Spanish sovereignty in Cuba, as in the Philippines, was now practically at an end and the American losses had been inconsiderable. But the victorious army was in a badly weakened condition. At least three-fourths of the men were, or had been, ill with yellow



PASCUAL CERVERA Y TOPETE



fever, dysentery, malarial fever or other diseases peculiar to tropical climates. Early in August, therefore, large numbers of them were removed to Montauk, on Long Island, where a camp had been hastily constructed for their rest and recuperation.

In the meantime an army of about 16,000 volunteers, under the command of General Nelson A. Miles, had landed in Porto Rico, the only remaining insular possession of Spain which had not passed under American control. Disembarking at Ponce, the army captured the city and then began its march toward San Juan, the capital of the island. The southern and western portions were soon in possession of the American forces, but at this juncture further hostilities were suspended by receipt of the news that a peace protocol had been signed at Washington on August 12.

As early as July 26 the Spanish Government, convinced of the further uselessness of prolonging the contest, had made overtures for peace through the French ambassador at Washington, M. Cambon. After two weeks of negotiation a protocol was agreed upon, by the terms of which an immediate suspension of hostilities was to be declared, Spain was to relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba and cede to the United States Porto Rico and the other Spanish possessions in the West Indies, and also an island in the Ladrones group. Commissioners were to be appointed to meet at Havana and San Juan to arrange the details of evacuation, and other commissioners were to meet at Paris not later than October 1 and negotiate a definitive treaty of peace. The disposition and government of the Philippines was to be determined in the treaty of peace, pending the conclusion of which the United States was to hold the city of Manila. As members of the American peace commission President McKinley appointed the Secretary of State, William R. Day, Senators Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, William P. Frye of

Maine, and George Gray of Delaware and Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York *Tribune*. The commissioners met in Paris early in September and entered upon the task of negotiating a treaty with the Spanish commissioners.

From the first the two most difficult questions to settle related to the so-called Cuban debt and the disposition of the Philippine Islands. The Cuban debt amounted to more than \$400,000,000, and had been incurred by the Spanish Government largely in putting down insurrections in the island since 1868. The Spanish commissioners insisted that the



Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CITY OF SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO

debt should follow the sovereignty of the island, and its payment be directly assumed by the United States or guaranteed by the American Government. The American commissioners, on the other hand, insisted that as the debt had not been contracted for local purposes, but mainly for the subjugation of the island against the wishes and consent of the inhabitants, it was not properly chargeable to Cuba. Moreover, since the United States did not expect to become the sovereign of the island it should not in any way be held responsible for the payment of the debt. The Spanish commissioners bent all their energies to saddle the debt on the United States,

but were forced to yield to the American demands and leave the burden of payment upon Spain.

The settlement of the Philippine question was equally perplexing, and the protocol of August 12 had purposely left the question open to afford time for further consideration. At the time of the signing of the protocol Manila had not been taken by the United States forces, but on account of the failure of the American commanders to receive the news of the suspension of hostilities they continued to prosecute the war, and on the day after the signing of the protocol Manila fell into the hands of the Americans. This event gave a stimulus to the gradually increasing sentiment in favor of retaining the islands under American control. It was now urged that the considerations of justice and humanity demanded that the half-civilized Filipinos should not, after being released from the despotism of Spain, be abandoned by the great nation that had brought about their enfranchisement, to become the prey of other powers, or to their own self-destruction.

President McKinley hesitated, for it was a very serious question whether the United States wished to assume the responsibility for the government of these far-away Oriental islands. After long and careful consideration the benevolent spirit prevailed, and the President cabled the American commissioners at Paris that he could see "but one plain path of duty—the acceptance of the archipelago." A proposition was thereupon presented to the Spanish commissioners for the cession of the islands in consideration of the payment by the United States to Spain of the sum of \$20,000,000, an amount roughly estimated to be the equivalent of the Philippine debt. The Spanish commissioners protested, declared that such a proposition was not warranted by the terms of the peace protocol, which referred only to the "control, disposition and government of the islands," not to their cession,

and insisted that the capture of Manila after the signing of the peace protocol was unlawful. After a long discussion the American commissioners presented a virtual ultimatum to the Spanish commissioners, threatening to break off negotiations, if their propositions were not accepted.<sup>7</sup> The Spanish commissioners were thus forced to yield, and on November 10, 1898, the treaty was signed.

By its terms Spain relinquished Cuba, the United States assuming, for the period of its occupancy, international responsibility for the protection of life and property in the island; Porto Rico, Guam in the Ladrões, and the Philippine Archipelago were ceded to the United States; for the cession of the Philippines the United States agreed to pay Spain \$20,000,000 and to admit, for ten years, Spanish vessels and merchandise to Philippine ports on the same terms as American vessels. Natives of Spain wishing to remain in the islands were to be protected in their civil rights, and, if they elected to do so, were to be allowed to preserve their Spanish nationality, but their political status was to be determined by the Congress of the United States. When the treaty was laid before the Senate for ratification strong opposition was manifested against the provision for the annexation of the Philippines. Great pressure was brought to bear upon the Senate by those who urged that the Filipinos should be given their independence instead of a mere change of masters, and that the annexation of remote half-civilized peoples was unconstitutional, inexpedient and dangerous to the welfare and peace of the United States. For a time it looked as if the necessary two-thirds for the ratification of the treaty could not be secured; but through the influence of Mr. Bryan, who went to Washington and urged the Democratic senators to vote for the treaty, it was finally ratified on February 6, 1899, by a vote of 57 to 27—but one more

<sup>7</sup> Moore, "Cambridge Modern History," vol. vii. p. 686.



than the requisite two-thirds. Thirteen Democrats and Populists voted for ratification and but two Republicans against it.

The war with Spain brought a great change in the position and responsibilities of the United States. The conflict had been short and decisive, lasting scarcely three months and a half. In every engagement the Americans had been successful, while their losses were insignificant.<sup>8</sup> The valor of the American soldier and the skill of the American gunner had won general praise, and the United States was now revealed to the world as one of the great powers of the earth. At the outbreak of the war there had not been the slightest thought of territorial expansion, but the drift of events had forced upon the country a group of remote insular lands inhabited by wild, dark-skinned races. Thus were ancient traditions cast aside and the Republic emerged from the contest the owner and administrator of distant colonial dependencies.

Old men stood aghast at the change and lamented that the better days of the Republic were past. But there was at least the comforting thought that it was all unpremeditated and intended solely for the welfare of the weak and untutored races whom we had freed from the tyranny of Spain. There was no spirit of aggression or of self-aggrandizement about it. Already, while the siege of Santiago was in progress, the Hawaiian Islands had been annexed to the United States by a joint resolution of Congress, according to the Texas precedent, and the year following the acquisitions from Spain, Tutuila and the Manua Islands of the Samoan group, in the far South Pacific, were added to the American possessions. Apparently old-time scruples with regard to expansion beyond the seas had disappeared. The intense ab-

<sup>8</sup> Up to October 1, 1898, the total deaths had amounted to 2,910, of whom 2,604 died from disease. The war expenditures up to the same time had reached about \$340,000,000.



sorption of the people in domestic affairs which resulted from the Civil War and the struggle over reconstruction had ceased. The old issues were no longer interesting; the national energy and sense of power sought employment in other fields, and hence the country turned, not unwillingly, to foreign expansion and colonial enterprise.<sup>9</sup>

The war with Spain, so creditable to American arms, was not, however, without its disagreeable incidents. The suffering of the American soldiers from the diseases peculiar to tropical climates was severe, and in addition there was the usual mismanagement of the commissariat, the quartermaster and surgeon generals' departments. Light clothing, medicines, ambulances, tents and means of transportation were not promptly furnished, and a great wave of indignation swept over the country when it became known that the soldiers were being fed on "embalmed beef," that is, beef treated with chemicals to preserve it from decay. The Secretary of War, General Alger, was unsparingly criticised, largely without justification, no doubt, and the commissary general, angered by the strictures of General Miles, was led to use language which resulted in his downfall. A commission was appointed by the President to investigate the alleged mismanagement of the War Department. After taking a vast amount of testimony, it reported that a lack of good judgment, foresight and executive ability had been shown in a good many instances; that the majority of the evils were due to inadequate appropriations and defective organization; that no evidence of dishonesty had been discovered; and that, considering the general unpreparedness, the management of the war had been highly creditable. A military court of inquiry was also appointed to investigate the charges made by General Miles with regard to the "embalmed beef," and it reported that they were substantially true as regarded

<sup>9</sup> Moore, "Cambridge Modern History," vol. vii. p. 663.

corned beef, 7,000,000 pounds of which was a "colossal error," but not as to refrigerated beef.

Finally there were the inevitable controversies and re-criminations among the higher officers of the army and navy, the most unfortunate being that between Admirals Sampson and Schley for the credit of destroying Cervera's fleet. To settle the latter controversy a court of inquiry was appointed, and after a lengthy investigation a verdict was pronounced



ADMIRAL WINFIELD SCOTT SCHLEY

Photograph from life

giving the palm to Sampson. The decision of the court, however, did not affect the opinion of the country that Schley's conduct had been gallant and meritorious, and that he was entitled to the honors of a hero, but President Roosevelt's subsequent memorandum ended the controversy and convinced thinking people of the injustice done to Sampson.

With neutral powers our relations during the war were on the whole friendly, for neutral rights were scrupulously respected by the American military and naval authorities.

Hardly any of the European nations, however, attempted to conceal their disapproval of American intervention in the affairs of Spain, and German feeling in particular was distinctly unfriendly.

An irritating incident in our relations with Germany grew out of the action of the German Government in concentrating a fleet in Manila Bay and of Admiral von Diedrich's impertinence in attempting to send a war-

ship into the harbor of Manila against American instructions—a circumstance which led Dewey to inform him rather bluntly that if he wished a fight he could have it. As precautions against German interference two coast defense vessels were sent to Manila from San Francisco and two battle-ships from the Atlantic. Of all the European nations Great Britain alone exhibited a real cordiality of feeling toward us and gave unmistakable evidence of her sympathy.

## IV

### THE INSULAR POSSESSIONS

Of the territorial possessions acquired as a result of the war, Porto Rico is the nearest to us geographically. It has an area of less than 4,000 square miles and a population scarcely aggregating 1,000,000 inhabitants, made up of negroes, native Spaniards and mixed races. The inhabitants were at the time of the war largely ignorant, without educational facilities and badly debt-ridden. The island, however, possesses great natural resources and a small element of intelligent, enterprising people. Released from the despotic rule of Spain, it has already, under the guiding hand of the United States, made marvelous progress along educational, industrial and political lines. The government of the island for more than a year after the establishment of American sovereignty was entrusted to the military authorities; first under the command of General John R. Brooke, later under General Guy V. Henry, and finally under General George W. Davis. Vexatious tax burdens and special privileges created under the Spanish régime were abolished, new trade regulations established, lotteries abated, church and state separated, needless expenditures cut off, the administration reorganized and reformed and a public school system estab-

lished. The customs and traditions of the people, however, were respected; Porto Ricans were given the preference in appointments to office, and, with a few exceptions, the central and local governments were entrusted to the natives acting under American control. The effect was almost instantaneous and clearly demonstrated the wisdom and disinterestedness of American rule.

The Philippine Archipelago comprises over fifteen hundred islands, less than a dozen of which, however, are of sufficient size to be of any importance. The two largest islands are Mindanao and Luzon, both being about the size of an



NIPA HUTS, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

average American State. The population of the archipelago consists of about 8,000,000 inhabitants, embracing many different races, mostly of Malay stock. Altogether there are 80 odd tribes, some of them wholly savage, others half civilized. The most highly civilized are the Tagalogs

of Luzon, numbering 1,500,000, and the Vizayans of the more southern islands, numbering about 2,000,000; the least civilized are the Negritos, a diminutive aboriginal race which maintains a tribal existence in the mountains and subsists largely on roots and herbs. The most warlike are the Moros of Mindanao, who, ever since the beginning of American occupation, have resisted the authority of the United States and have been a constant source of trouble to the government. Added to these are a sprinkling of Europeans and a good many Chinese. The natural resources of the islands are



many, the principal products being manila hemp, tobacco, sugar, coffee, rice and indigo.

The Philippines, like Porto Rico, were first governed by the military authorities, under the direction of General Otis. Shortly after the inauguration of American rule the President announced that the mission of the United States in the islands was to be one of "benevolent assimilation"; that, so far as practicable, the civil and criminal laws were to be retained and administered by the local tribunals; that under the same limitation the local governments were to be left undisturbed and placed in the hands of native officials, and that those who accepted the supremacy of the United States were to be protected in their private rights, but those who resisted were to be brought to submission by the strong "arm of authority." This latter threat was intended for those Filipinos who had refused to acknowledge the authority of the United States and had risen in insurrection.

Shortly after Dewey's victory in Manila Bay and before the fall of the city, the Filipinos, under the lead of Aguinaldo, had revolted against American authority, declaring that they wished independence and not a mere change of masters. On July 1 Aguinaldo proclaimed a Philippine republic, and an insurgent government was organized with himself as the head. He soon had an army of 30,000 Filipinos under his command, and early in 1899 a general attack was made on the American lines about Manila, and the outbreak presently extended throughout a large portion of Luzon. During the entire year the Americans carried on a vigorous campaign against the insurgents, the losses of the Americans being comparatively slight, while those of the insurgents were heavy. Among the killed on the American side, however, was the gallant General Lawton, who was shot by a Tagal sharpshooter on December 18. Town after town of the insurgents was captured by the American forces and



American authority was gradually extended to all parts of the province. When the Filipinos found that they were beaten by the American forces they retired to the mountains and kept up a guerrilla warfare throughout the year 1900, their hopes being in a large measure excited by the possible results of the presidential election which occurred at this time.

McKinley and Bryan had both been renominated as the candidates of their respective parties, practically without



EMILIO AGUINALDO  
Photograph from life

opposition. Governor Theodore Roosevelt of New York, against his earnest protest, was nominated by the Republicans for Vice President, and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, who had been Vice President during Cleveland's second term, was nominated by the Democrats for the same office. Mr. Bryan's candidacy was endorsed by the Silver Republicans and by the Anti-Imperialist League, which numbered among its members a good many prominent Republicans who felt disgusted at the imperialistic policy of the govern-

ment. All the Populists supported Bryan except the Middle-of-the-Road faction, which nominated Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania. The only essential difference between the Democratic and Republican national platforms of 1900 and those of 1896 related to the questions growing out of the war with Spain. The Democratic platform denounced the "militarism" and "imperialism" of the Republicans, and declared these questions to be the paramount issues in the campaign.

The acquisition of remote islands inhabited by semi-barbarous races, among whom slavery was an established institution, had transformed our government, the Democratic platform declared, into an imperial republic and violated the principles alike of the Declaration of Independence and of the Federal Constitution. With regard to the civil status of the inhabitants in our new possessions, the platform affirmed that the "Constitution follows the flag." It de-



Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company

#### DEATH OF GENERAL HENRY W. LAWTON

manded that the pledge of independence to Cuba be speedily fulfilled and that American rule be withdrawn from the Philippines, where it had been extended by a war of "criminal aggression." American sovereignty, it declared, could never extend to countries whose inhabitants could not become citizens. It denounced the formation of a large standing army, which was calculated to endanger our own liberties and institutions. Next to "imperialism" and "militarism," the

free coinage of silver was the leading issue, as in 1896. The great majority of the party were in favor of renominating Mr. Bryan, but they doubted the wisdom of making silver an issue. But Mr. Bryan demanded the reaffirmation of the platform of 1896 on this point, and intimated that unless it were done he would refuse the nomination. The convention yielded to his request, not without a certain reluctance, however, and adopted a declaration in favor of the sixteen-to-one doctrine. There were no secessions from the convention, but thousands of Democrats quietly voted for McKinley in preference to supporting the free-silver "heresy." As in 1896, Mr. Bryan traveled about the country and by his persuasive eloquence stirred the masses on the subject of imperialism—its dangers to the Republic, as he believed, the injustice of governing distant peoples without their consent, and its utter inconsistency with the advice of the fathers and the traditions of the past.

The Republicans, on the other hand, declared that our policy had always been one of territorial expansion from the time of Jefferson to Cleveland, and that the Philippines had practically been forced upon the country as the result of a war waged in the interest of humanity and liberty, and their inhabitants, being incapable of self-government, could not be abandoned as prey to other foreign nations. They must, declared the Republicans, be held and protected by the United States until, having attained a condition in which they are capable of governing themselves, they can be given a degree of local self-government and finally made independent.

As the campaign progressed imperialism and militarism came to be regarded rather as "bogies" than real dangers, and Mr. Bryan himself gave more attention to the tariff and the trusts, arguing that the Republicans were not only indifferent to the growth of powerful monopolies, but actually

protected them by high tariff duties. President McKinley made no speeches during the campaign, but Mr. Roosevelt, the candidate for Vice President, more than compensated for his silence. The campaign tour of Mr. Roosevelt through the Northern and Western States rivaled similar efforts made by Mr. Bryan, and the speeches he made and the enthusiasm he aroused by his democratic manners and his clean-cut, aggressive discussion of public questions contributed no small part toward the final result.

As was foreseen early in the summer, the elections resulted in a sweeping Republican victory, McKinley receiving 292 electoral votes to 155 for Bryan. The Republicans carried Maryland and all the Northern States except Idaho, Montana, Nevada and Colorado. The States of Nebraska, Kansas, Wyoming, Utah, South Dakota and Washington, which Mr. Bryan had carried by substantial majorities in 1896, now deserted the free-silver ranks and voted for McKinley and imperialism. The Republican supremacy was also continued in both houses of Congress.

In the meantime the reorganization of the insular governments and their adaptation to American methods was proceeding apace. A commission was appointed by the President to investigate conditions in Porto Rico and draft a code of laws for the island. It recommended the separation of church and state, a revision of the fiscal system, the erection of public schools and the encouragement of industrial development by the grant of liberal charters. It urged, however, that the right of local self-government be withheld until the people were better educated and gave more evidence of political capacity. By August, 1899, General Davis had reorganized the various departments of the insular government and had rearranged the judicial system, with a supreme court at San Juan. In April, 1900, Congress passed the Foraker Act, to provide a civil government for the island.



It declared that the inhabitants should be considered as "citizens of Porto Rico, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States"; provided for a resident commissioner to represent the island at Washington, but without a seat or vote in Congress; levied a tariff of fifteen per cent. of the Dingley rates on commerce between the United States and Porto Rico; and extended the laws of the United States so far as they were applicable to the island. The scheme of government embodied in the Act provided for a governor and an executive council appointed by the President, one-half of the membership to consist of Porto Ricans; and a House of Delegates to be elected by a restricted suffrage and constituting with the council the insular legislature. The first civil governor of the island was Charles H. Allen, appointed by the President in April, 1900, and he was succeeded in 1901 by William H. Hunt, of Montana.

The Foraker Act as first introduced "extended" both the Constitution and the laws of the United States to Porto Rico, declared the inhabitants to be citizens of the United States, and provided for absolute free trade between the island and the United States. But the majority of Congress were unwilling to make this small free trade concession to the Porto Ricans or to accord them the rights of American citizenship or the protection of the Federal Constitution. The Democrats, supported by a small minority of Republicans, maintained that the Constitution extended *ex proprio vigore* to all the territory of the United States, whether near or remote, and did not need to be "extended" by an Act of Congress. As for the imposition of a customs duty on trade between Porto Rico and the United States, they insisted that it contravened the Constitution, which requires uniformity of duties throughout the United States, and which prohibits the levying of an export duty. Finally they contended that, aside from constitutional questions involved, considerations



of expediency, good faith and justice required liberal treatment of the Porto Ricans in their commercial relations with the mother country. Soon after the Foraker Act went into effect its constitutionality was brought to a test in the Supreme Court of the United States, and decisions were rendered in the so-called insular cases defining the status of the new dependencies and the power of Congress in dealing with them. The court held, by a bare majority of 5 to 4, that Porto Rico was a part of the domestic territory of the United States, but that it could be treated as a foreign territory for certain purposes, particularly as respects the customs laws. For the latter purpose the island would remain foreign territory until Congress should, by formal act, make it an integral part of the United States. That is, the court upheld the Republican contention that the Constitution does not extend *ex proprio vigore* to the insular dependencies, but must be extended thereto by an Act of Congress. As this had not been done Porto Rico was foreign territory within the meaning of the revenue clauses of the Constitution, and hence the provision of the Foraker Act imposing duties on articles imported from the island into the United States was a constitutional measure. It held, in other words, that Congress may apply a different rule in legislating for different parts of our imperial republic. This rather unsatisfactory conclusion was made more so by the fact that the line of reasoning of the learned justice who gave the opinion was not concurred in by a single one of the other eight members of the court. More recently the Supreme Court in a negative way has passed upon the question of the civil status of the Porto Ricans, holding that they are not aliens to the United States, but expressing no opinion on the question as to whether they are citizens of the United States.

The steps leading up to the establishment of civil government in the Philippines began with the appointment by

President McKinley in December, 1898, of a commission consisting of President Schurman of Cornell University, Admiral Dewey, General Otis, Charles Denby, former minister to China, and Professor D. C. Worcester of Michigan, to investigate conditions in the islands and report to the President the result of their findings. In November, 1899, the commission made a preliminary report expressing the opinion that on account of racial diversity as well as general ignorance and lack of political experience among the inhabitants, self-government could not be granted for the present; and that the welfare of the Filipinos, as well as the national honor of the United States, demanded the retention of American control. On February 1, 1900, the commission made its final report, recommending a frame of government for the Philippine Archipelago which was to consist of a governor general, a cabinet, a senate and a chamber of deputies, the senate to be half-elective and the latter wholly so. It was further recommended that Congress give the Filipinos assurance of full enjoyment of civil rights, a measure of local self-government, including a delegate in Congress, a civil service system by which appointments were to be based on merit, with preference for the natives, and the establishment of a public school system. In partial fulfillment of these recommendations military government was abolished and the control of the island was provisionally entrusted to a commission of five Americans, with Judge William H. Taft of Ohio at the head.<sup>10</sup>

The commission set diligently to work reorganizing the local government throughout the archipelago, extending American rule, conciliating the natives and pacifying the disaffected provinces. Provisional codes of law in harmony with American ideas were adopted, new tax and fiscal sys-

<sup>10</sup> The other members were General Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Professor D. C. Worcester of Michigan, Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses of California.

tems were introduced, public schools were established and thousands of American teachers sent over to teach them, the currency reformed and the central administration reorganized and made more efficient.

Governor Taft proved to be extremely popular with the natives, his wisdom and justice came to be more and more appreciated, and gradually organized opposition to American rule disappeared everywhere except among the Moros in the province of Mindanao. Occasional uprisings continued to occur in the Island of Samar and the province of Bantangas in Luzon, but in each instance they have been suppressed, in some cases by rather severe and vigorous methods. Charges of barbarous cruelty toward the natives were made against American soldiers from time to time, and court-martials were frequent occurrences. General indignation was felt throughout the country in the spring of 1902 when it became known that General Jacob H. Smith had issued an order to the troops under his command to kill all the natives of Samar over ten years of age and make the island a howling wilderness. He was promptly tried by court-martial, found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from the army. In view of General Smith's long and distinguished service in the army and the particularly provoking circumstances under which he had been led to issue his harsh order, the President commuted the sentence to retirement from the service. The



JUDGE WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT  
Photograph from life

capture of Aguinaldo by strategy and the promulgation by him of a manifesto urging his followers to submit to the authority of the United States was followed by a practical collapse of the insurrection.

In view of this, Congress, in June, 1902, passed an Act for the government of the Philippines and provided that, after the expiration of two years therefrom, if a condition of peace prevailed in the islands, a general election should be held for the choosing of delegates to a popular assembly, of which the Philippine Commission was to constitute the upper chamber. Ability to read and write, together with ownership of \$250 worth of property, was fixed as the qualification for voting. Two commissioners are to be chosen to represent the islands in the Congress of the United States. The Act was also accompanied by an extended bill of rights which secures to the Filipinos certain guarantees relative to protection of life, liberty and property, and declares the inhabitants to be citizens of the Philippines entitled to the protection of the United States. On July 4, immediately after the enactment of this law, the President issued a proclamation officially declaring the insurrection in the Philippines at an end everywhere, except among the Moros, and extending a full pardon and amnesty to all persons in the archipelago, with a few exceptions, who had in any way resisted the authority and sovereignty of the United States. At the same time the Secretary of War issued a statement to the effect that the total cost of the Philippine insurrection amounted to \$170,326,586.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Since this official announcement of the suppression of the insurrection the disturbances in Samar and Mindanao have been renewed. In March, 1904, General Wood defeated two bands of Moro insurgents, killing about 400 of their number. It having been discovered that the Sultan of Sulu was implicated in the Moro outbreak and otherwise largely responsible for the disturbances, the government formally notified him that the Bates treaty of August, 1899, which granted a limited autonomy to the Moros and provided official salaries for himself and several of the dattos, should henceforth be considered abrogated.



Finally the vexatious problem of the friars has been disposed of by their voluntary withdrawal from the Philippines and the conclusion of an agreement with the Papal authorities in December, 1903, after negotiations lasting nearly two years, by which the friars' lands (about 400,000 acres) were sold to the government of the Philippines for the sum of \$7,239,000. The lands thus acquired are to be



Copyright, 1905, by John D. Morris & Company

"THE KANSAS YELL"

Brigadier General Funston leading his men into battle against the Filipino insurgents, May 2, 1899

sold in small holdings and the proceeds applied to the establishment of churches, schools, charitable institutions, etc. The last annual report of the Philippine Commission, made public February 1, 1906, contains the gratifying information that the islands are in a pacific condition, that ladronism has almost ceased, that educational facilities have been largely multiplied and that the construction of new railroads is all



that is now needed to insure rapid industrial progress. But the promised legislation has not yet been established and the islands are still unrepresented in the American Congress. Seventy-five per cent. of the regular tariff duties, as provided by the Dingley Act, are still collected on their imports from the mother country, and by a recent Act of Congress all such commodities must be carried in American vessels.\* The Filipinos protested bitterly against this legislation, but the interests of the maritime classes prevailed. Finally, by a decision of the Supreme Court, rendered as these lines are written, it is held that our colonial subjects beyond the seas, as well as American citizens resident in the dependencies, have no constitutional right to trial by jury, since the provisions of the Constitution for protection by jury trial have not been "extended" to those parts of our national domain.

Finally, a few words should be said as to the disposition of Cuba. The United States' original disclaimer of any intention of sovereignty or control over the island, except such as might be necessary for its pacification, has been strictly adhered to. After the withdrawal of Spanish authority the government was entrusted to the military authorities of the United States, first under General Brooke as governor general, and later under General Wood. Thus the United States, in the language of President McKinley, became "surety for the future of the island."

Under General Wood the island was regenerated, the sanitary condition of the large cities so improved that yellow fever has well-nigh disappeared, its legal and judicial systems revised by American commissions, municipal autonomy gradually accorded, and the public school system extended. The Cubans under American tutelage

\* Since the above was written Congress has passed an Act to admit free of duty into the United States Philippine products except sugar, tobacco, and rice, which are to pay twenty-five per cent. of the Dingley rate, instead of seventy-five.

were thus made ready for self-government, and late in the year 1900 a constitutional convention was assembled at Havana by order of President McKinley for the purpose of framing a constitution, under which the island was to be governed in the future. In order to insure the preservation of the independence which the United States had given the Cubans, the government insisted upon the incorporation of articles in their constitution providing that there should be no acquisition of territory or control in Cuba by any foreign power; that certain cessions of land should be made to the United States for naval stations; that no debt should be contracted by the Cuban Government which could not be defrayed out of the ordinary revenues of the island; and that the United States should have the right to intervene by force to maintain the independence of Cuba and preserve the integrity of its territory. The Cubans manifested some opposition to these conditions, and insisted that they would in effect destroy that independence which the United States professed to be anxious to preserve; but the government remained firm, and the conditions were accepted and became part of the Cuban constitution in June, 1901. In the December following the Cubans held their first general election for the choice of President, Vice President and members of congress. Thomas Estrada Palma was chosen



GENERAL ESTRADA PALMA  
First president of the Cuban republic  
Photograph from life

as the first President of the new Republic, and on May 20, 1902, the government was formally transferred by General Wood to the Cuban authorities. American occupation was declared to be at an end, and the military forces of the United States withdrew from the island. The United States had kept its promise, and after three years of occupation, during which the island was largely transformed and made anew, it was handed over to the keeping of those to whom it properly belonged.

One thing more remained to round out the policy toward the people of Cuba. That was to accord them generous commercial privileges as regards their trade relations with the United States. It was urged that the imposition of the full tariff rates on sugar, which was their main article of export to the United States, would at this stage of their national career work great hardship to the Cuban people. A bill was therefore proposed in Congress providing for a reduction of the duties on Cuban sugar, and President Roosevelt exerted all the pressure he could bring to bear upon the members of Congress to secure its passage, declared that we were bound not only by considerations of expediency, but by those of national honor and morality to deal liberally with the Cubans.

On account of the opposition of those senators who represented the sugar interests of the United States the bill failed in the Senate. But the President did not give up the fight for the Cubans, and accordingly negotiated a reciprocity treaty with the Cuban Government which provided for a 20 per cent. reduction of the existing tariff duties on all Cuban products imported into the United States, in return for which the United States was to be favored by reductions on American products imported into Cuba. This treaty was finally approved by the Congress of the United States late in 1903.

The influence of the United States as a world power was recently shown by the honorable and prominent part which the government took in the international settlement of Chinese affairs growing out of the "Boxer" outrages of 1900. In this year an upheaval was caused in China by an outbreak against foreigners led by an anti-foreign society which demanded the expulsion of the foreign element from the empire. The disturbances spread from province to province, and the foreign legations in Peking were besieged by the Boxers, who cried for the blood of the despised foreigners. The German minister was murdered, the residences of foreigners were plundered and their property destroyed, and telegraphic connection with the outside world was cut off. Troops of the various powers were hurried to the relief of the besieged legations to which foreign residents had taken refuge, the Taku forts were bombarded and occupied, Tientsin was attacked, and finally Peking was taken and the legations rescued. In these operations American troops participated, and when it came to the matter of settling up with China for the outrages against the foreigners the government of the United States took the leading part. Some of the European powers would have been glad to take their indemnity in Chinese territory or exclusive trade privileges, as some of them had done on previous occasions, but Mr. Hay, the American Secretary of State, very early during the troubles communicated a note to the allied powers stating that the United States would insist upon the preservation of the "territorial and administrative entity" of China and an "open door" in matters of trade with all parts of the Celestial Empire.

The justice of this position was so obvious that it met the approval of the civilized world, and one by one the allied powers announced their acceptance of the principle laid down in Secretary Hay's note. So with regard to the

amount of indemnity and the manner of payment, as well as the punishment of the Boxer leaders, Mr. Hay pleaded for a spirit of justice, forbearance and magnanimity in dealing with China, and urged that nothing should be done to degrade her sovereignty or impair her rights as an independent nation. Altogether it was a creditable chapter in American diplomacy and won the admiration and respect of all Americans without respect to party.







## Chapter XLIV

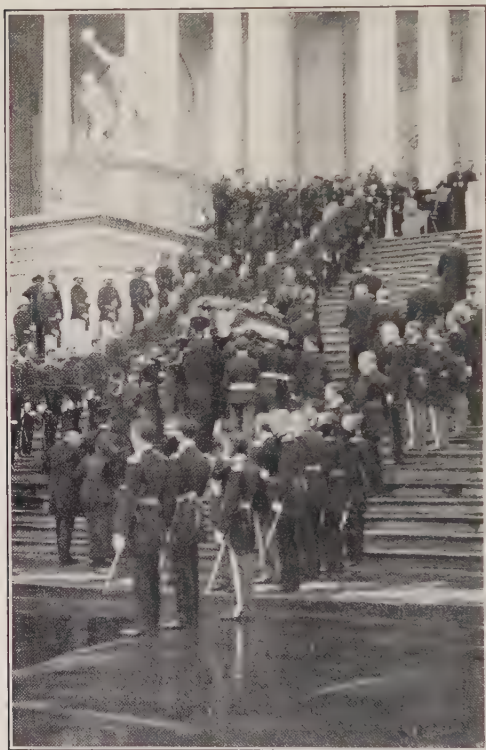
### ADMINISTRATION OF ROOSEVELT. 1901—

#### I

#### ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT M'KINLEY

**I**N the meantime President McKinley's first term had come to an end and he had entered upon a second term with every prospect of a successful administration. But within a few months the country was shocked at the news that the President had been stricken down by an assassin's bullet. On September 6, 1901, while holding a public reception in the Temple of Music at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo he was shot by an anarchist named Czolgosz, who approached the unsuspecting President with a revolver concealed under a handkerchief which appeared to cover an injured hand. For several days the President's condition held out some hope of his recovery, but suddenly he became worse and died on September 14. The popular manifestations of grief over the death of Mr. McKinley were most extraordinary. All over the land meetings were held for the purpose of paying tributes of respect to the memory of the dead President, and in many parts of the country people stood with bowed and uncovered heads for a few minutes on September 19 while his body was being borne to its tomb in Canton, Ohio. Few Presidents have been more popular with all classes and parties than was Mr. McKinley at the time of his death. Especially had he endeared himself to the people of the South by his touching references to the Con-

federate soldiers and by his thoughtful consideration of Southern customs and traditions. No President since the Civil War had done so much to bring about a complete reconciliation between the people of the two sections and to secure Southern respect for a Republican administration. It was



CARRYING THE BODY OF PRESIDENT MCKINLEY  
TO THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL AT  
WASHINGTON

Mr. McKinley's belief that by entrusting prominent Southern white men with office he would be able to attract many of this class into the Republican ranks and thereby create the nucleus of a new party in the South which would command the respect and support of Southern men who had shown an increasing dissatisfaction with the economic and financial policies of the Democratic party. There is reason to believe that, had Mr. McKinley lived, his policy would have been entirely successful.

Hardly entitled to the distinction of a statesman of the first order, Mr. McKinley was, nevertheless, almost unsurpassed as a political leader. Tactful in his dealings with men and conciliatory in his disposition, he succeeded in a rare degree in winning friends and holding them as if by bands of steel. The purity of his domestic life, the sincerity of his

motives and the Christian fortitude with which he bore his last suffering won the admiration and praise of the entire American people.

A few hours after Mr. McKinley's death the Vice President, Theodore Roosevelt, took the oath of office as President at Buffalo and entered at once upon the discharge of the duties for which Mr. McKinley had been chosen. The formal assumption of the Presidency by the Vice President was peaceful and orderly and without the slightest interruption in the operation of the government. In assuming the office of President, Mr. Roosevelt announced his intention to continue the policies of the late President, and at his request all the members of the Cabinet retained their portfolios.

A few weeks after Mr. Roosevelt's accession to the Presidency the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress convened, with Senator Frye of Maine as president of the Senate and David B. Henderson of Iowa as Speaker of the House. President Roosevelt's message gave a prominent place to the dangers of anarchy and recommended legislation making anarchistic attacks upon the President cognizable by the Federal courts. The President further recommended "publicity" as the "only sure remedy" for "trusts"; the creation of an executive department of Labor and Commerce; the reënactment of the Chinese Exclusion Law which was to expire in 1904, as well as greater restriction upon the immigration of undesirable persons from other countries; an amendment to the Interstate Commerce Act to prevent discrimination in railroad rates to shippers; legislation for the improvement of the merchant marine; a thorough reform of the consular service; better protection of the forest reserves; Federal aid for irrigation of arid lands in the West; a reduction of the Spanish-American War taxes, and the reorganization of the army by the creation of a general staff. Notwithstanding the abundance of recommendations, Con-



gress enacted little important legislation at this session. Aside from the routine appropriation bills, laws were enacted for erecting the census office into a permanent bureau, for repealing the remaining war taxes, and for continuing the present Chinese exclusion laws and extending their application to the dependencies and enlarging the number of persons exempted from the prohibition.

Throughout the summer of 1902 public interest was centered in a serious and protracted strike of anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania. The strike began on May 12 and lasted until October 23, affecting altogether about 145,000 employés. The cause of the strike was the demand of the miners for higher wages, shorter hours of employment and for recognition upon the part of the employers of their labor union. The miners offered to submit all questions to arbitration, but their proposal was rejected by the mine owners. The attempt of the operators to work the mines with non-union men led to the usual riots and disorders, and these increased in extent and seriousness until the governor of Pennsylvania was forced to call out the militia to protect the non-union miners and to preserve the peace. As the scarcity of the fuel supply increased and the approach of winter drew near, the price of coal rose to extraordinary heights, many manufacturing establishments were compelled to close, and great distress prevailed among the poor in the larger cities of the East. Finally, the situation became so serious that President Roosevelt was led to intervene. He summoned the operators and representatives of the miners to Washington and urged them in the most earnest manner to settle their dispute by arbitration, otherwise the government might be forced to take steps to end the strike. The operators, refusing at first, eventually agreed to submit under certain conditions the questions at issue to an arbitration commission to be appointed by the President. There-

upon the miners resumed work and the most serious labor strike in the history of the country came to an end. Later in the winter the strike commission rendered its award, granting substantially the demands for which the miners had contended.

At the second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, which met December 3, 1902, a few weeks after the termination of the coal strike, several important measures were enacted into law. One of these created an executive department of Commerce and Labor charged with fostering and developing foreign and domestic commerce, the mining, manufacturing, shipping and fishing industries, the labor interests, the transportation facilities and the insurance business of the United States. A notable feature of the new department is a bureau of corporations charged with making investigations of the business of corporations and joint stock companies engaged in foreign or interstate commerce, with a view to collecting information for the use of the President in enforcing the anti-trust statutes. This is sometimes called the "publicity" bureau and was created in response to President Roosevelt's recommendation that the only effective means of dealing with the powerful trusts was to make their doings public. Mr. George B. Cortelyou was placed at the head of the Department of Commerce and Labor and soon gave it a systematic organization.

Another measure enacted at this session was the Elkins law, also aimed at the trusts, and which undertakes to prevent the large corporations from securing discriminating freight rates from the railroads. It forbids the offering as well as the receiving of rebates, and makes the corporations thus favored, as well as its agents, liable to prosecution for violation of the Act. It is a matter of common knowledge that some of the most powerful trusts in existence to-day have attained their greatness largely as a result of favored

treatment from the railroads, in competition with which, of course, the small shippers have been at a great disadvantage. Another anti-trust measure appropriating \$500,000 to be expended by the Attorney General in prosecuting violations of the anti-trust statutes, and still another was enacted to expedite the hearing and determination of suits arising under the anti-trust Acts by providing for the removal of trust cases from the Circuit Courts directly to the Supreme Court. Both of these Acts have been taken advantage of by the Government since their enactment and have greatly facilitated the prosecution of several important anti-trust suits. An important measure of a military nature was the Act for the creation of a general staff for the army and substituting a "chief of staff" in place of the "commanding general." The general staff consists of forty-five officers and is charged with the preparation of plans for the defense of the country and the mobilization of the army in time of war. This measure was conceived and carried through by Secretary Root, and it is believed has added greatly to the efficiency of the army. It was followed by an Act to regulate the militia, which allows national aid to the State militia whenever it conforms to certain standards of organization and observes certain regulations prescribed by the Federal authorities with regard to drilling and participating in encampments. The State militia is thus brought more under control of the national government and its efficiency as an arm of the national service consequently increased.

On November 9, 1903, a special session of the Fifty-eighth Congress met in response to a call of the President for the purpose of approving the reciprocity convention with Cuba to which reference has already been made. Joseph Cannon of Illinois was elected Speaker of the House to succeed David B. Henderson of Iowa, who had at the close of the previous session resigned his seat in Congress

and retired to private life. The House with unanimity promptly passed the bill to carry out the provisions of the reciprocity convention, but the Senate refused its immediate concurrence and fixed December 16 as the day for a vote, and demanded an adjournment of the special session. The House leaders took the position that courtesy to the President required that Congress should perform the duty for which the extra session had been called, and refused to consent to an adjournment. Each House showed resentment at the conduct of the other, each accused the other of attempting to dictate its action and firmly refused to recede from its position. Accordingly both branches of Congress kept up perfunctory sessions until the opening of the regular session on December 7. At the opening of the regular session the President sent in his annual message, in which he devoted much space to praise of the new Department of Commerce and Labor, and to a defense of his Panama policy. He recommended the creation of a commission to investigate the condition and needs of the American merchant marine, a revision of the public land laws, an extension of the classified civil service and the authorization of the Treasury Department to deposit the customs receipts in the national banks.

Among the important measures passed were a bill providing for a loan of \$4,600,000 to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition; a bill appropriating \$250,000 for the extermination of the cotton boll weevil in the Southern States; an Act to extend the navigation laws of the United States to the Philippine Islands; and an Act to create a commission to investigate the condition and needs of the merchant marine. Much time was devoted to the discussion of a bill to admit the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and the Indian Territory to statehood, and although the bill passed the House, it failed in the Senate. Another subject



of lively discussion was a Democratic proposal for the appointment of a special committee to investigate the frauds and scandals recently discovered in the Post Office Department. As a result of the discoveries, some thirty persons were indicted, several high officers in the department were dismissed, including the superintendent of the free delivery service, the chief of the division of salaries and allowances, the superintendent of the money order bureau, and the auditor of the same department, while several others were forced to resign their positions. In some cases the offenses charged were conspiracy to defraud the government on contracts for supplies, in others they were the abuse of official positions to secure contracts with firms with which the accused were connected, while in still other cases officials were guilty of falsifying their accounts.

The President ordered a thorough investigation of the affairs of the Post Office Department, and the results showed that the government had lost several million dollars, in the form of excessive prices on supply contracts, a goodly share of which went to the conspirators. Ex-Congressman Driggs of Brooklyn was convicted by a United States court of having accepted from a manufacturing concern a large sum for the use of his influence in securing a contract for cash registers for the use of the government. He was sentenced to a term of imprisonment and to pay a fine of \$10,000. An ex-superintendent of the free delivery service and several other private persons were also convicted and punished, but the majority of the accused were acquitted.

An important incident in the foreign relations of the United States in the year 1903 was the settlement by arbitration of a long standing and perilous controversy with Great Britain, concerning the boundary between Alaska and Canada. Various efforts to settle the difficulty through diplomatic channels having resulted in failure, the two gov-



ernments agreed to submit the dispute to the decision of a commission of six jurists of repute, three appointed by each government. The commissioners were duly appointed and met in London September 3. On October 18 the decision was announced, allowing substantially all the claims of the United States. Her claim that the line passed round the head of the inlets, thus including the White and Chilkoot passes, was confirmed, while she was also awarded the small islands of Sitklan and Kannaghunut at the mouth of Portland Channel with the right to navigate the Channel and control its western shore. The two Canadian commissioners refused to sign the award, which was made by Lord Alverstone and the three American commissioners, Secretary Root, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and ex-Senator Turner of Washington, and there was some complaint among the Canadians that their interests had been sacrificed. This feeling was perhaps natural under the circumstances, but the justice of the award can hardly be questioned by impartial observers, and the people of Great Britain with singular unanimity gave it their approval.

The settlement by arbitration in the previous year of disputes with Mexico concerning the Pious Fund, and with Russia concerning seizures of American vessels in the Behring Sea, together with the conclusion in the following year of a general arbitration treaty with France and other powers, seemed to furnish strong evidence of the peaceful disposition of the United States, and the desire of the government to settle its disputes with other nations by arbitration, when it can be done consistently with the honor of the country.

## II

## THE PANAMA CANAL

Of the events of President Roosevelt's administration, the one which will probably stand out above the others in the permanency and general usefulness of its results to mankind was the Act of Congress authorizing the construction of the long projected ship canal across the isthmus connecting North and South America. The project of this waterway is almost as old as the national government itself. It was one of the proposed subjects of discussion at the Panama Congress of 1826, the American delegates being instructed by Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, to investigate "the practicability and the probable expense of the undertaking on the routes which offer the greatest facilities." During Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations commissioners were appointed to investigate the question of suitable routes, and reports and recommendations were made, but never acted upon.

In 1849 the government of Nicaragua granted a concession for the construction of a canal across Nicaraguan territory to an American company, of which Cornelius Vanderbilt was the leading member, but nothing was ever done toward the work of construction. In the same year, Mr. Hise, the American *chargé d'affaires* at Nicaragua, concluded a treaty with the government of that republic by which the United States was given a perpetual and exclusive right of way for the construction of a canal across Nicaraguan territory, but the treaty did not meet with the approval of President Tyler, and was never submitted to the Senate for its action. Interest in the Nicaragua route, however, did not subside, and with a view to securing the cooperation of Great Britain in constructing the proposed

canal, as well as in guaranteeing its neutrality, the United States in 1850 entered into an agreement with the British Government, known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, already described in another chapter, by which it was stipulated, among other things, that neither power would assume any exclusive control over the canal when completed and that both would unite in guaranteeing its neutrality and uninterrupted use in time of war as in time of peace. During the next twenty-five years various concessions were granted to American citizens, and almost every possible route across the isthmus was surveyed either by private parties or by engineers of the United States army or navy. A commission appointed by President Grant reported, in 1876, in favor of the Nicaraguan route, and in 1884 a treaty was concluded with Nicaragua by which the necessary concessions were granted to the United States. Finding this treaty before the Senate at the time of his accession to the Presidency, Mr. Cleveland withdrew it and refused to resubmit it because it contained certain stipulations which did not meet his approval.

In the meantime a movement was under way to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama between the cities of Panama and Colon, and in 1879 an international congress held at Paris decided upon this route as the one most practicable. To carry out this project a French company was organized under the presidency of Ferdinand de Lesseps and a concession was secured from the government of Colombia. In 1881 work was actually begun, but unexpected difficulties were soon encountered; increased funds were found necessary, many of the transactions of the company were marked by fraud and scandal, so that after expending about \$250,000,000 and having accomplished but a small part of the work of construction, the company was declared bankrupt and a receiver appointed to take charge

of its affairs. Finally in 1884 the receiver succeeded in organizing the New Panama Company, 50,000 of the shares of which were taken by the government of Colombia. To this new company the property and assets of the old De Lesseps company were transferred, and the work of construction was recommenced on a small scale, and by June, 1899, it was estimated that the canal was about two-fifths completed. In the meantime in June, 1889, an American company had begun the preliminary work of construction on the canal by the way of the Nicaragua route, but in 1893 it ceased operations on account of lack of funds, a fruitless effort having been made to induce Congress to guarantee its bonds for construction purposes.

The most that Congress would do was to provide for the appointment of three commissioners (the Ludlow Commission) to investigate and report upon the feasibility and cost of completing the work. The investigation was hurriedly made, and not deeming it sufficiently thorough, Congress provided for the creation of a new commission, with Rear-Admiral John G. Walker at its head, to continue the inquiries begun by the first commission. A most thorough investigation was now undertaken, and in May, 1899, the commission reported that in its opinion the Nicaragua Canal could be completed at an expense not exceeding \$118,000,000. About this time the organization of the new Panama Company revived the popular interest in the projected canal by way of Panama. This interest was increased by the report of an international congress of experts in favor of the desirability of this route. Congress accordingly decided not to act upon the report of the Walker Commission, but provided for the creation of another commission of nine members of which Admiral Walker was also chairman, charged with investigating all possible routes on the isthmus from Nicaragua to Colombia. After an exhaustive investi-



gation the commission unanimously reported in November, 1901, in favor of the Nicaragua route as "the most practicable and feasible." The commission, however, gave the preference to the Nicaragua route, not because the natural difficulties of construction were fewer than those of the Panama route, for in reality they were greater, but because of the financial difficulties involved in acquiring the property and franchises of the Panama Canal Company, the value of which the company had placed at more than one hundred million dollars. The Panama Company now removed this difficulty by offering to sell its property and franchises to the United States for the sum of \$40,000,000, the valuation which the commission had placed upon the work already done. The commission thereupon made a supplementary report recommending the acceptance of the offer and the completion of the unfinished canal by way of Panama.

In Congress discussion of the respective merits of the Nicaragua and Panama routes was long and earnest, but finally ended in June, 1902, by the passage of the Spooner Act, which authorized the President to purchase the property and franchises of the Panama Company for \$40,000,000, provided a satisfactory title could be secured, and further authorizing the construction of the canal at a cost not exceeding \$120,000,000. In case a satisfactory title could not be obtained from the company or the necessary concessions from Colombia, the President was authorized to begin negotiations with Nicaragua for concessions and to construct the canal by that route at a cost not exceeding \$180,000,000. Already by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of November, 1901, the British Government had consented to the annulment of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which stood in the way of American construction and control, and which both secretaries, Blaine and Frelinghuysen, had endeavored



without success to have abrogated. But Mr. Hay, after the first treaty which he made had been amended by the Senate, and then rejected by England, had succeeded in making a second treaty embodying the Senate amendments, by which Great Britain conceded to the United States the sole right to construct, maintain and police the canal, and withdrew her claim to a joint guaranty of the canal upon the promise of the United States to maintain its neutrality and to adopt the



JOHN HAY  
Photograph from life

rules governing the Suez Canal for the control of the proposed Panama Canal.

Soon after the enactment of the Spooner Law Secretary Hay began negotiations with the Colombian Government to obtain the necessary concessions for the construction of the canal. After about six months of tedious negotiation Mr. Hay finally concluded a treaty with the Colombian envoy, Dr. Herran, by which the United States stipulated to pay to the Colombian Government the sum of \$10,000,000

in cash for the concessions and a perpetual annuity of \$250,000, beginning nine years after the date of the ratification of the treaty. On March 18, 1903, the Senate of the United States ratified the treaty by a vote of 73 to 5. It was then laid before the Colombian Congress, which met in special session at Bogota, June 20, for the purpose of considering the treaty. From the first a strong opposition was manifested toward the treaty, on the grounds, as alleged, that the proposed concession with regard to jurisdiction over the canal

zone was an impairment of Colombian sovereignty, that the Panama Company was without legal capacity to transfer its rights to a foreign power without the consent of the Colombian Government, and lastly that the proposed compensation for the privileges conceded was insufficient. The last ground was the real source of opposition. There is little doubt that the Colombian representatives were deluded with the belief that the United States could be made to pay any amount for the concessions which the Colombian Government might demand. Believing, therefore, that a larger sum could be obtained than that stipulated for, the Congress adjourned after three or four months of wrangling, and without having approved the treaty. General Reyes, president-elect, was later sent to Washington to negotiate for a new treaty on the basis of a larger compensation and the recognition of Colombian sovereignty over the proposed canal zone. But the proposal was firmly refused, because the situation had radically changed.

The adjournment of the Colombian Congress without action was followed, as was expected, by a revolution in Panama. The people of this province were naturally deeply interested in the fate of the treaty, and, feeling that their interests were neglected by its rejection, decided to revolt from Colombia and set up a separate government. Accordingly on November 3 the inhabitants of the town of Panama rose in revolt, seized and held as prisoners the Colombian military and naval officials stationed there, organized a provincial government, and proclaimed their independence as the Republic of Panama. The revolution was from the first a bloodless affair and was confined practically to the cities of Panama and Colon.

Rumors of the impending outbreak had reached the ears of the United States authorities, and on November 2, the day before the revolution broke out, the commanders of

the *Nashville* and the *Marblehead* were instructed to prevent the landing of Colombian troops for the purpose of suppressing the expected uprising, and not to permit the approach of Colombian war vessels within fifty miles of Panama, and likewise to prevent any movement of insurgent troops by sea or on the railroad. This action of the United States was based on Article 35 of the Treaty of 1846 with New Granada (now Colombia) by which the United States agreed to "guarantee positively and efficaciously . . . the neutrality of the isthmus with a view that free transit may not be interrupted or embarrassed."

Three days after the Panama outbreak the United States consul at Panama was authorized to enter into relations with the provisional government when it should be sufficiently established, and on November 13, only ten days after the revolt, the President received M. Bunau-Varilla as minister from the new republic. The action of the United States was soon followed by that of various other powers. In some quarters the President was severely criticised for the haste with which he recognized the independence of Panama and for his intervention in Colombian affairs, but there was a general feeling that it was no more than the Colombians deserved. To the President it seemed as if they had trifled with the United States for mercenary purposes, the results of which, had they been successful, would have been to block a great undertaking of lasting value to mankind. Five days after Mr. Bunau-Varilla reached Washington he concluded a treaty with Secretary Hay, by which the necessary canal concessions were granted to the United States, in return for which our government agreed to guarantee the independence of Panama.

The government of Colombia protested against the action of the United States as unduly hasty, and charged that the President had encouraged and aided the revolu-

tionists in their action. In vain did the Colombian Government ask for permission to land troops on the isthmus for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of its territory. It then dispatched General Rafael Reyes to the United States, as a special envoy to endeavor to induce the government to recede from its position. In due time he reached Washington and was cordially received by the President, but was told that the Panama affair was a "closed incident," and that the department was "unable to regard the complaints of Colombia as having any valid foundation." The Colombian envoy then offered on behalf of his government the necessary canal privileges free of cost provided Colombia were allowed an opportunity to reassert her sovereignty over Panama, but the offer came too late, and his proposition was not considered.

The Hay-Varilla Treaty signed November 18 followed the general lines of the Hay-Herran Treaty except that more liberal concessions were granted to the United States. It was agreed that the United States should pay \$10,000,000 in cash to the Republic of Panama, and a perpetual annuity of \$250,000 beginning nine years after the date of the ratification of the treaty. A zone of territory five miles wide on each side of the canal was ceded to the United States, with full jurisdiction over the same, together with any other lands that might be necessary to the construction and maintenance of the canal. The treaty was at once sent to Panama, where it was promptly ratified by the Junta without change, was hurriedly returned to the United States, promptly laid before the Senate, and on February 23, 1904, it was ratified by a vote of 66 to 14, after a long and earnest debate, in the course of which the Democrats delivered many speeches denouncing the President's Panama policy, and attempted to secure the adoption of various resolutions which implied a censure of his conduct. Of the fourteen negative votes all



were those of Democrats. Fourteen other Democrats, however, voted for ratification, some of them having been instructed to do so by their State legislatures, which were not slow to appreciate the advantages which the said States would derive from the construction of the canal. Shortly after the ratification of the treaty the government of Colombia, as a shareholder, instituted suit in a French court to restrain the Panama Company from transferring its franchises and other property to the United States; but an adverse decision was rendered and the government having by investigation satisfied itself that a good title could be conveyed, the offer of the Panama Company to sell was accepted, and on April 23 the formal transfer of its title took place in Paris. A little later a warrant for \$40,000,000 was delivered to the company's agent in New York, and the transaction was complete.

In April Congress passed an Act for the government of the canal zone. It is modeled upon the Act of 1803 for the government of the Louisiana Territory, and vests the full power of government in the President until the expiration of the Fifty-eighth Congress. In pursuance of this Act the President, through the War Department, issued regulations for the administration of the government of the zone. In the meantime the work of preliminary construction has begun, and it is estimated that the canal will be completed and open to navigation within fourteen years. It will shorten the distance by sea from New York to San Francisco from 14,000 miles to about 5,000, while the distance saved between British ports and the Pacific coast will not be less than 6,000 miles. It should be a source of gratification and pride to every American citizen that the United States will have the honor of completing an enterprise of such vast significance and incalculable value to the future history of the world.











## III

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1904

In the meantime the regular quadrennial contest for the Presidency was in progress, and the interest of the country was turned toward the selection of the candidates. The Republican party was the first to act. Its national convention was held in Chicago June 21, 22 and 23, and was organized by the election of Elihu Root, of New York, as temporary chairman and Joseph Cannon, of Illinois, as permanent chairman. Upon taking the chair, Mr. Root delivered an elaborate speech in which he reviewed the record of the Republican party during the last eight years and eulogized the character and ability of President Roosevelt. The address created great enthusiasm among the delegates, and its reference to the work of the government in behalf of the people of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines led to a demonstration rarely equaled in a national convention. The chief feature of the following day's proceedings was the speech of Mr. Cannon and the adoption of the platform. The platform was agreed upon without bickering or dissension and was adopted by the convention with promptness and unanimity. In addition to the usual self-glorification, the platform contained declarations in favor of the settlement of international differences by arbitration, a "liberal administration" of the pension laws, the reduction of the representation in Congress of those States which have "by special discrimination" limited the elective franchise, the maintenance of a navy powerful enough to defend the United States against attack and to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, an honest enforcement of the civil service laws and legislation for the encouragement and up-building of the American merchant marine. On the "trust" question the



platform contained a declaration taunting the Democrats with failure to enforce the anti-trust laws during the Democratic ascendancy, asserted that combinations of capital and labor are "the results of the economic movement of the age" and declared that neither should be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. On the currency question the platform pronounced emphatically in favor of the maintenance of the gold standard. On the tariff it pronounced in favor of the principles of protection and advised "readjustment" of the existing laws only when "conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration," and then only by the Republican party. Other declarations eulogized the administration for its success in the management of our foreign relations, for its conduct in the government of the insular dependencies and for its attitude on the Panama Canal question.

The platform having been adopted, the convention proceeded to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. As has so often been the case in Republican conventions, the work of selecting a presidential candidate had already been determined beforehand by the overwhelming sentiment of the party. Early in the year there was a likelihood that Senator Marcus A. Hanna, of Ohio, would be a prominent candidate for the nomination, but his death in February left Mr. Roosevelt without opposition. No other name was proposed or suggested in the convention, and he was accordingly nominated by acclamation, the first instance in the history of the country of the nomination for the Presidency of one who had as Vice President succeeded to the Presidency through the death of the chief magistrate. Since the early days of the Republic it had been the custom to nominate available men for the Vice Presidency with no thought of promoting them to the Presidency. The position of Vice President had, in fact, come to be looked upon

as a graveyard for politicians rather than a stepping-stone to the first place—a fact which had led Mr. Roosevelt to protest strongly against his nomination as Vice President in 1900. McKinley having died, however, early in his term, Mr. Roosevelt had had three years and a half in which to show his fitness for the duties of the chief magistracy. During this period he had given evidences of strong leadership as well as remarkable administrative ability. By the time of the meeting of the convention there was no longer any doubt that he would make a very strong candidate, and so the Republicans did the unprecedented thing of nominating their Vice President for the Presidency. As Mr. Roosevelt's associate on the ticket the convention nominated Senator Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana.

The Democratic national convention met at St. Louis, July 6, and organized by the election of John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, as temporary chairman, and Champ Clark, of Missouri, as permanent chairman. Mr. Williams delivered a long address devoted largely to satire on Mr. Root's Chicago speech and to criticism of the Roosevelt administration. From the first there was a lack of that harmony and unanimity of purpose which had characterized the proceedings of the Republican convention. It required the most prolonged and laborious effort to secure the adoption of a platform acceptable both to the radical and conservative elements of the party. As finally agreed upon, however, the platform contained declarations demanding greater economy in the administration of the government, for procuring which, it declared, one of the best means would be to have all public officers, from the occupant of the White House down to the lowest, return to Jeffersonian simplicity of living. It asked a thorough legislative investigation of "those executive departments already known to teem with corruption, as well as other departments suspected of

harboring corruption"; a "wise, conservative and business-like revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses"; an enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission; generous pensions for soldiers and sailors, "not by arbitrary executive order, but by legislative act"; and the upbuilding of the merchant marine "without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury."

With regard to the issue of "imperialism," which the Democratic candidate later exalted to the foremost place, the platform declared that the Filipinos should be given the same independence which had been accorded the people of Cuba. With regard to the "trust" question, the platform demanded the "vigorous and impartial enforcement of the anti-trust statutes, and condemned the Republican system of legislation, which was alleged to be responsible for the existence of trust monopolies. On the currency question the draft platform, as prepared by a sub-committee of the committee on resolutions, virtually recognized the gold standard as a fixity and declared that in view of the recent enormous production of gold the "maintenance of a money standard of value was no longer open to question," and hence the money question was removed from the field of political contention. Mr. Bryan and other silver leaders, however, were displeased with this direct reference to the gold standard and succeeded in inducing the full committee, after a continuous session of eighteen hours, to strike out all allusion to the gold standard, and in this form the platform was adopted by the convention. There was no reaffirmation of the Kansas City or Chicago platforms and no reference to the currency question or those other questions which had occupied such prominent places in the platforms of 1896 and 1900. It was, or seemed to be, a virtual admission that the attitude of the party on the money question had in the

past been wrong and was in effect a repudiation of the free silver "heresy." The adoption of the platform was the great task of the convention.

At five o'clock in the morning of July 9 the convention, wearied almost to exhaustion, nominated Alton B. Parker, chief judge of the New York Court of Appeals, as the candidate for President. His chief competitor was William Randolph Hearst, millionaire editor of several daily newspapers in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. On the first ballot Hearst received 200 votes. Scattering votes were cast for Richard Olney, George B. McClellan, E. C. Wall and others. Mr. Bryan, the leader of the Democratic party in the last two campaigns, was not a candidate and received no votes, although he exercised a dominant influence in the convention and succeeded in having the currency, tariff and "trust" planks of the draft platform changed to suit his own views. As the candidate for Vice President the convention nominated Henry G. Davis, ex-Senator from West Virginia, an octogenarian of rugged qualities and a successful business man of large wealth.

As the convention was on the eve of adjourning great excitement was caused by the reading of a telegram from Judge Parker, addressed to one of his close political friends, saying that he regarded the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established, that he should act accordingly if



ALTON BROOKS PARKER  
Photograph from life



elected President, and that if his views were unsatisfactory to the convention he wished another to be nominated in his stead. The reading of the telegram threw the convention into confusion and at first there was considerable feeling in favor of rescinding the nomination of Parker and substituting someone else. It was asserted by some that he had even trifled with the convention. Ever since his name had been mentioned as a possible nominee he had maintained absolute silence as to his views on the money question. He had so skillfully concealed them, it was charged, that perhaps less than half a dozen men in the convention knew what his opinions were. Instead of frankly making them known beforehand for the intelligent guidance of the party, he waited until the nomination had been accorded him and then spoke out when it was impracticable to undo the work of the convention. Such was the feeling of many delegates who had voted for his nomination, the most conspicuous of whom was Mr. Bryan. Judge Parker's friends, on the other hand, took the position that in view of the silence of the platform he had exhibited rare courage and manliness in thus stating his views before the adjournment of the convention, in order that it might have an opportunity to nominate someone else.

After a little reflection the convention recovered its equanimity, and it was seen to be impossible to reopen the platform and impracticable to rescind the nomination of Parker. Accordingly a conference of the leaders was held and an agreement reached that a telegram should be sent to him assuring him that there was nothing in his views which would preclude him from accepting a nomination on the platform. This was done with the approval of the convention, which thereupon adjourned.

The insignificant part played by the minor political parties entitles them to little more than a bare mention. The



remnant of the Populist party held a national convention at Springfield, Illinois, on July 5, and nominated Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for President and T. H. Tribbles, of Nebraska, for Vice President. The platform adopted was substantially the same as those of 1892, 1896, and 1900. The Prohibitionists chose the Rev. Dr. Swallow, of Pennsylvania; the Social Democrats put forward Eugene V. Debs, the labor leader; and the Socialist Labor Party nominated Charles H. Corregan, a printer, of New York.

Mr. Roosevelt was formally notified at Oyster Bay, July 27, of the action of the Chicago convention, and he accepted the nomination in a speech devoted mainly to a review of the record of the administration during the last four years and to a comparison of Republican and Democratic policies. In accepting the nomination Mr. Roosevelt declared that he had kept, to the best of his ability, his promise to carry out President McKinley's principles and policies for the honor and interest of the country. Continuing, he maintained that it would be unwise to change policies which were now working so well. There was prosperity at home, the national interest and honor had been upheld abroad, and the finances were sound on the gold basis. Whenever the need arose there should be a readjustment of the tariff. It was beyond doubt that such changes could be made only by those devoted to the principle of protection. Referring to the foreign policy of the United States Mr. Roosevelt said:

“Our foreign policy has been so conducted that not one of America's just claims has been sacrificed. Our relations with all foreign nations are now of the most peaceful kind, and there is not a cloud on the horizon. The last cause of irritation, the Alaska boundary question, has been removed. Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama have shown the Monroe Doctrine to be a living reality, designed to hurt no nation,

but to serve as a protection for the civilization of the Western Continent for the peace of the world."

Alluding to the abandonment by the Democrats of their former cherished idols, he said: "Seemingly their present attitude as to their past record is that some of them were mistaken and others insincere." As to the Republicans, on the other hand, he declared, "We make our appeal in a wholly different spirit. We are not constrained to keep silent on any vital question; we are divided on no vital question; our policy is continuous, and is the same for all sections and localities. There is nothing experimental about the government we ask the people to continue in power, for our performance in the past, our proved governmental efficiency, is a guarantee as to our promises for the future." The speech in reply to the notification address was followed on September 11 by a lengthy letter of acceptance, in which he threw down the gauntlet to the Democrats and challenged them to meet the Republicans on the common ground of argument. In clear and forcible language he met squarely every issue raised by the Democratic platform—the Panama affair, the trust question and all the others. This letter, like the address of July 27, made a very favorable impression upon the country and greatly strengthened the chances of Republican success.

Judge Parker was formally notified of the action of the St. Louis convention on August 10 at his home. Esopus, on the Hudson, and in his speech of reply gave public expression for the first time to his views on the issues of the campaign. He gave the most prominent place in his speech to the question of "imperialism" and devoted much space to an abstract discussion of liberty and equality, which was enlivened by frequent quotations from Jefferson. Imperialism he insisted was the paramount issue, although in the popular feeling it was hardly so regarded. Other questions were

treated in a manner which did not arouse the enthusiasm of the Democratic masses. Finally he declared that if elected he would not seek the nomination to a second term.

Personally both Mr. Roosevelt and Judge Parker are admirable types of American character. The searching light of the presidential campaign failed to reveal a single spot in the character of either. No taint of corruption, no suspicion of motive, no doubt as to high and honorable intentions, or of the most exalted patriotism, nothing that smacked of ill-breeding or political chicanery, could be found in the lives or past conduct of either. Mr. Roosevelt had the great advantage of a long and successful record in the public service. Graduating at Harvard at the age of twenty-one, he was elected three years later to the New York legislature, where, as the leader of the minority, he won the good opinion of the people by his firm stand against corruption, which was then rife at Albany. Receiving increased mental and physical vigor from two years' residence on a Western ranch, he returned to New York State and was nominated as the Republican candidate for mayor of New York, only to be defeated by Abram S. Hewitt, the Democratic candidate, and a man of great ability and popularity. During the ensuing four years he devoted his time mainly to literary activity, bringing out among other volumes his notable work entitled the "Winning of the West." In 1889 he was again in political life, this time as Civil Service Commissioner of the United States. He filled this position with signal ability until 1895, when he resigned from the Federal service to accept the position of police commissioner of New York city under the reform administration of Mayor Strong. He held this office for two years, and by the thoroughness and impartiality with which he enforced the laws attracted the attention of the entire country. Probably at no time in the history of the metropolis had the police service

of New York been so efficient and of such a high character. Blackmail among the police was largely broken up and violators of the law irrespective of rank or station were brought to punishment. With the return of Tammany to power in 1897 Roosevelt resigned the police commissioner-ship and reëntered the Federal service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley. Upon the outbreak of war with Spain he resigned this position and went to the front as lieutenant colonel of a regiment of "rough-riders." He took part in the land campaign before Santiago, and his services at San Juan Hill are a part of the recorded history of the war. With the honorable distinction of a gallant military commander he was nominated by the Republicans of New York for governor and was elected over his opponent by a majority of nearly twenty thousand votes. As governor of the Empire State he gave additional evidence of his administrative ability, earnestness of purpose and patriotism. It was while serving in this capacity that he was nominated for the Vice Presidency on the ticket with Mr. McKinley, against his personal wishes. His record in the public service had amounted to about twenty years, and it had included service in the municipality, in the State, under the Federal government and in the army. There could be no doubt, therefore, of Roosevelt's administrative ability.

With Judge Parker, however, all was different. His entire public experience, long and honorable as it was, had been in judicial, not in administrative, positions. He was a good lawyer, and as chief judge of the New York Court of Appeals had won the respect of the bar by his dignified behavior, his affable manners, and his high sense of judicial honor. His party managers exerted themselves to convince the voters that of the two candidates he was the safer, and that of the two he alone was "trained in the ways of the



Constitution.” They asserted that Mr. Roosevelt by his pension order and other acts had shown a disposition to override constitutional limitations; that by his procedure in the Panama affair he had shown himself inconsiderate of the rights of other nations; that he was reckless, over-strenuous, aggressive and inclined to militarism; that he showed want of tact in dealing with the Southern question, as a result of which he had driven the Southern Democrats whose respect McKinley had won into distrust and hatred; in short, whether considered from the point of view of domestic tranquillity or foreign peace, he was a dangerous candidate. The truth is, “Rooseveltism” was the only issue before the people.

His supporters, on the other hand, contended that he had done more than any of his predecessors to enforce the anti-trust statutes, and upon his recommendation his party had enacted at least five new statutes aimed at the trusts. The currency situation was highly satisfactory, the management of the foreign relations of the United States had been eminently successful, the Monroe Doctrine had been upheld, new and valuable treaties negotiated, several irritating and long-standing international disputes amicably settled, and the country was at peace with all the world and enjoyed an unusually high degree of respect abroad. The organization of the army had been improved and its efficiency increased; the militia of the States had been reorganized and brought into conformity with the organization and standard of the regular army, and frauds in the public service had been unearthed and the guilty prosecuted.

The question of “imperialism,” which Judge Parker insisted on making the paramount issue, was alleged by his opponents to be a mere bogey. The masses of the voters could not be made to believe that the government which had expended such vast sums for the improvement of conditions



in Porto Rico and the Philippines meant to oppress and tyrannize over the people of those dependencies. Our whole policy, they insisted, had shown that the United States sought only to improve the material and political conditions of our insular subjects and to qualify them for membership in our body politic. Mere mention of the Acts by which Cuba had been transformed under American rule and then handed over to the Cubans, they said, gave the lie to the Democratic charge that the government was animated by motives of conquest and aggression. The campaign had not progressed very far before it was evident that, notwithstanding Judge Parker's efforts to the contrary, "imperialism" was not and could not be made an issue. Likewise the efforts of his managers to convince the people that Roosevelt was an "unsafe" man were unavailing. Roosevelt's friends admitted that he was a man of extraordinary mental and physical energy and that he reached his conclusions quickly and acted with promptness, but not without deliberation and concentration of thought. They denied that he was reckless, rash, or impulsive, ready to plunge the country into war or that his mind was closed to advice from others. One of his most intimate friends and advisers said of him: "When after full consideration he has made up his mind as to what is right, he is unbending; but no man has been in the White House for many years who is so ready to take advice, who has made up his mind more slowly, more deliberately and after more consultation than Theodore Roosevelt. No President in my observation has ever consulted with the leaders of the party, not only in the House and Senate, but in the State and in the press, so frequently and to such good advantage." His aggressive honesty, his native courage, his frankness, his Americanism, his rugged character, undoubtedly made him the greatest popular favorite since Lincoln.

The campaign was one of the quietest and most unin-

teresting in the history of the country. The Democratic managers exerted themselves to the utmost to arouse enthusiasm and attract the voters to the support of their ticket. The doubtful States were overrun with campaign orators and flooded with Democratic literature, but as the campaign progressed it became evident that the Republicans would win. Yielding to the pressure of his managers, Judge Parker in the last days of the campaign took the stump and delivered several speeches to visiting delegations at his home and in New York City in the hope of stemming the tide that was evidently setting in against him. But his speeches rather injured than increased his chances of election. In support of his indictment against the government for its imperialistic policy he made use of statistics so inaccurate as to excite ridicule. Finally in a last effort he made an attack upon Roosevelt and Cortelyou, the manager of the Republican campaign, charging the former with appointing the secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor as chairman of the national committee that he might make use of the information collected in his official capacity to blackmail the great corporations into making contributions to the Republican campaign fund. This charge called out a spirited reply from the President, who denounced the charge as "unqualifiedly and atrociously false," and who called upon the people to judge whether Cortelyou was capable of such reprehensible conduct. There was a pretty general feeling that the Democratic candidate in making these charges had descended from the high plane which he occupied at the beginning of the campaign when he wrote to the secretary of the Democratic campaign literary bureau requesting him to publish nothing that would reflect upon President Roosevelt. To indulge in a personality of this kind seemed wholly inconsistent with Judge Parker's well-known reputation for dignity, official propriety and fair

play, and can only be explained by the pressure exerted upon him by politicians less scrupulous than himself in the hope of securing by personal assault what could not be secured by argument and conviction. Judge Parker's charge that the Republican campaign committee had received contributions in such quantities as "to induce and permit the most lavish expenditure ever made in a campaign" was explicitly denied by Cortelyou, who asserted that the campaign had been conducted with less money than any for the last twelve years, but as to this there is no evidence available to the public.

The September elections in Maine and Vermont presaged the final result. Despite the exertions made by the Democrats to reduce the customary Republican majorities in these States, for the effect it might have on the November elections, both went Republican by large majorities. On the morning of November 8, when fifteen million voters went to the polls to cast their ballots, there was little doubt as to who would be elected President. The only surprise was the magnitude of the Republican triumph. Roosevelt swept the country by a majority unprecedented since the election of General Grant in 1868. He carried all the doubtful States, including Maryland, West Virginia and Kentucky, and in addition five States which the popular McKinley had failed to carry in 1900. His extraordinary popularity was further shown by the fact that he carried four States (Missouri, Massachusetts, Colorado and Minnesota) which elected Democratic governors. His total electoral vote aggregated 343, as against 133 for Parker. Many towns and districts throughout the North and West which had been accustomed to giving majorities for the Democratic ticket went almost solidly for Roosevelt. Politically the result was a complete overthrow. Only twelve Southern States remained true to the Democracy, and one of these, Arkan-

sas, only by a small majority. Never was a presidential administration so overwhelmingly indorsed by the people of the country. Mr. Roosevelt was deeply touched by the result, and as soon as he was made aware of it he issued a statement to the American people announcing that upon the expiration of his term he intended to retire and would under no circumstances be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

On December 5, 1904, the last session of the Fifty-eighth Congress assembled at Washington, and on the following day the annual message of the President was submitted to the two houses. The message was a document of unusual length, and for the vigor of its tone as well as the variety and scope of the questions which it discussed was probably never surpassed by any similar State paper in the history of the government. Among the more important recommendations were proposed measures for the improvement of the consular service, the encouragement of the merchant marine, greater economy in the cost of public printing, revision of the naturalization laws with a view to prevention of frauds, legislation against bribery and corruption in Federal elections, better preservation of the forest reserves, extension of the national parks, increased salaries for Federal judges and restriction of immigration. The message contained a vigorous assertion of the Monroe Doctrine and of the duty of the government to protect all its citizens abroad regardless of color or race, the latter having reference to the conduct of the Russian Government in refusing to recognize American passports issued to citizens of Jewish birth or race.

Much attention was given to the army and the navy, the consideration of which the President declared to be absolutely essential in treating of our foreign policy and of the attitude that this country should assume in the world



at large. He "most earnestly" recommended that there should be "no halt in the work of upbuilding the navy," and asserted that there was no more patriotic duty before us as a people than to keep the navy adequate to the needs of this country's position. Likewise, with regard to keeping up the strength of the army, he declared that it was not merely unwise, but contemptible, for the nation, as for an individual, to use high-sounding language to proclaim its purposes or to take positions which are ridiculous if unsupported by potential force and then to refuse to provide this force. While the President greatly desired peace, evidence of which was to be found in the call which he had just issued to the powers of the world to unite in a second Hague Conference, he nevertheless argued that peace under certain circumstances was not preferable to war. On this point he declared:

"The steady aim of this government, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times people who were slothful or timid or short-sighted, who had been enervated by ease or by luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of peace. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when



each nation is not merely safeguarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others."

Of all the subjects treated in the President's message, however, the one which received the greatest prominence was the proper attitude of the national government toward the great industrial problems which have in late years forced themselves upon the attention of the country. Concerning labor unions he discoursed at length, defending those organized for legitimate purposes and conducted in a legal and orderly manner, but giving notice that organizations of employes in the Federal service for the purpose of improperly extorting high salaries from the government would not be tolerated.

Concerning the control of the great corporations which have come to be such a menace to the progress and good order of the country, he stated that it was an "absurdity" to suppose that the abuses connected with them could be eliminated by the action of the several States, because more than one State pursues the policy of creating on easy terms corporations which are never operated within that State at all, but in other States whose laws they ignore. "The national government alone," he affirmed, "can deal adequately with these great corporations."

Finally, the President raised a national issue by his vigorous attack upon the railroads for their conduct in granting rebates in violation of the law and in otherwise making discriminations against certain shippers and places. Such abuses, he declared, must be stopped and the laws enforced. To correct the evil of discriminating rates he recommended that the Interstate Commerce Commission be vested with power, where a rate has been challenged, to prescribe what is a reasonable charge, subject to judicial review, such ruling to take effect immediately and to remain

in force until reversed by the court of review. In accordance with the executive recommendation the House of Representatives promptly entered upon the consideration of several projects for the solution of the railway rate problem and for the correction of general abuses connected with interstate railroad traffic. One of these, the Hepburn Bill, so called from the name of its author, proposed to abolish the present Interstate Commerce Commission and create a larger one in its place, and also to provide a Court of Commerce, to be composed of five circuit judges of the United States with exclusive jurisdiction of all suits involving interstate commerce rates. A more popular measure was the Townsend-Esch Bill, which proposed to retain the Interstate Commerce Commission and clothe it with power to regulate rates and schedules subject to the right of appeal to a court of transportation similar to that provided in the Hepburn Bill. This bill commended itself strongly to all parties except the railroad interests, and it passed the House by a practically unanimous vote. The Senate, however, apparently remained unaffected by this evidence of unanimity upon the part of the House of Representatives or by the popular clamor which swept over the country, and it therefore took no action upon the bill. The Senate felt, and not entirely without good reason, that the popular agitation for government rate control was partly the result of hostility to the railroads, and that legislation of such radical and socialistic character should follow only after the most thorough and enlightened consideration of all the facts involved. It therefore contented itself with directing its Committee on Interstate Commerce to sit during the recess and conduct an investigation into the alleged abuses of the railroads. The disappointment of the country was very great at the failure of Congress to enact legislation for which there seemed an imperative need, and while the agitation has partly subsided

there is little doubt that the demand is as strong as ever and that moderate legislation will follow at an early date.

In one other particular did the Senate defeat the popular will. During the year 1904 the Secretary of State, following the example recently set by many European governments, succeeded in concluding arbitration treaties with France, Norway and Sweden, Portugal, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Mexico, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland and Spain, by which the signatory parties agreed to refer to the Hague tribunal all controversies of a legal nature, arising between them, which did not affect the vital interests, the independence or the honor of the contracting states, nor the interests of third states. To be sure, the class of controversies embraced within the scope of the treaties was not large, but the agreement upon the part of so many nations to settle certain disputes, however few in number or unimportant in character, was felt to be a good beginning which might strengthen arbitration sentiment and in time lead to the conclusion of more general and comprehensive treaties. President Roosevelt, with a feeling of personal pride at the prospect of being able to contribute so much to the cause of international peace, promptly laid the treaties before the Senate for ratification and urged upon that body favorable action. The Senate, however, showed little enthusiasm for the cause of arbitration, and soon gave notice of its intention to so amend the treaties as to make necessary the conclusion in advance of arbitration a special treaty covering each specific case. It was like saying "We agree to arbitrate certain questions provided we can agree to submit them to arbitration." It appeared to the President that such an amendment would so seriously impair the value of the treaties that it would not be worth while to have them ratified, and so he wrote to Senator Cullom, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Re-

lations, announcing that if the Senate persisted in its determination he would not send the treaties back to the European governments for concurrence in the amendments. The publication of this letter in the press caused some indignation in the Senate, and as a mark of resentment that body promptly adopted the proposed amendment by a vote approaching unanimity. Thereupon the President quietly dropped the treaties, and thus for the time at least the arbitration movement has come to an end. Considerable popular disappointment was expressed at the action of the Senate, and it seems clear that the great majority of the people were with the President in his efforts to promote a cause of such vast benefit, not only to the United States, but to mankind in general.

The action of the Senate in other particulars called out strong popular criticism and further increased the already growing dissatisfaction with its slow and somewhat antiquated methods of procedure, as well as its general attitude toward many questions of public policy. It refused to give its advice and consent to the Hay-Bond Commercial Reciprocity Treaty with Newfoundland, an agreement for which there is a strong popular demand and one which embodies a principle which the Republican party has time and again endorsed unreservedly in its national platform. It refused to admit the Oklahoma Territory to the Union as a State for political and factional reasons, in the face of a popular demand approaching unanimity and in spite of the fact that the Territory is entitled to statehood by every consideration of justice and practical expediency.

Finally the Senate opposed the President in his new and sensible interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and threw obstacles in the way of the enforcement of the executive policy. It is Mr. Roosevelt's idea that besides conferring benefits on the United States, the Monroe Doc-



trine imposes corresponding obligations and responsibilities. He claims, with unanswerable logic, that it is not compatible with international equity for the United States to refuse to allow the European powers to take the only means at their disposal of satisfying the claims of their subjects against South American states which repudiate their debts, and yet to refuse itself to take any steps toward aiding or compelling such states to discharge their just obligations to European creditors. By assuming such a responsibility, the President argued, a general acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine by the European nations must soon follow, and with it an increase of the sphere in which peaceful measures for the settlement of international difficulties gradually displace those of a warlike character. In other words, we should prove by our actions that the world may trust in our good faith and sense of justice.

In February, 1905, at the request of the government of Santo Domingo, whose finances were in a chaotic condition, the President concluded a treaty with the Dominican authorities by which the United States was to take charge of the customs houses in the island, collect the revenues, turn over 45 per cent. of the proceeds to the Dominican Government and apply the remainder on an equitable basis to the discharge of the *bonâ fide* debts of Santo Domingo. On February 16 President Roosevelt sent the treaty to the Senate, accompanied by a long message describing the disordered financial conditions in Santo Domingo as a result of disturbances, revolutions and misappropriation of the revenues, and urged the ratification of the treaty as a moral duty to a distracted sister republic, already, in fact, under the quasi protection of the United States, and as a measure of justice to her European creditors, who were not free to take such steps as they might choose to enforce their claims.

On March 6 the President sent a second message to



the Senate, reëmphasizing the arguments in his first message and calling attention to the fact that the treaty had been entered into at the earnest request of Santo Domingo, and was intended primarily for the benefit and relief of the people of the island republic itself. The President pointed out, however, that the United States would derive a certain benefit from the increased stability, order and prosperity which the treaty would tend to establish in Santo Domingo and the consequent removal of apprehension from possible aggressions on the part of European powers. In conclusion he said: "Santo Domingo grievously needs the aid of a powerful and friendly nation. This aid we are able, and I trust that we are willing, to bestow. She has asked for this aid, and the expressions of friendship repeatedly sanctioned by the people and the government of the United States warrant her in believing that it will not be withheld in the hour of her need."

This strong appeal of Mr. Roosevelt, however, did not convince the Senate, and it adjourned without taking any action on the treaty. Those who opposed it did so mainly on the ground that such a policy violated the long-standing practice of the United States with regard to entangling relations with foreign governments, and that it would tend to establish a precedent by which the United States would become a sort of receiver for bankrupt Latin-American republics, a rôle which was neither wise nor dignified for it to play. Nevertheless the President was thoroughly convinced of his policy, and notwithstanding the action of the Senate he entered into an informal arrangement with the Dominican authorities, by which the aid stipulated for in the rejected treaty is now being given, with results which amply vindicate the President's position.

Throughout the summer of 1905 the eyes of the civilized world were turned toward the United States in conse-



From stereograph. Copyright, 1905, by Underwood & Underwood, New York

M. Witte    Baron Rosen    President Roosevelt    Baron Komura    Minister Takahira  
THE RUSSO-JAPANESE PEACE ENVOYS AS GUESTS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON BOARD  
THE YACHT "MAYFLOWER"



quence of the meeting of the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Through the tact, unfailing energy, masterly diplomacy and real statesmanship of President Roosevelt, a bright chapter has been added to the history of the United States, great and lasting fame has been achieved by its President and the nation has been lifted to a position of the highest influence in the international politics of the world.

For nearly a year and a half a great war had been going on in the Far East, and although the military and naval operations of one of the belligerents had been marked by a succession of unparalleled victories, the other, with true Slavic stubbornness, supported by vast latent material resources, showed no disposition to abandon what seemed to many a hopeless struggle. At the very beginning of the war President Roosevelt had taken the initiative in limiting the area of hostilities; for many months he had watched with deep concern the progress of the struggle, and seeing no prospect of its early termination now resolved to make an effort to induce both belligerents to consent to the opening of negotiations with a view to the conclusion of peace. Accordingly, after having held informal conferences with both the Russian and Japanese ministers at Washington, he sent an identical note to the governments of the two belligerents, in which he expressed with his characteristic frankness and directness the opinion that the time had come when, in the interest of all mankind, he must endeavor to bring to an end the terrible and lamentable conflict then going on in Asia. With both Russia and Japan, he declared, the United States had inherited ties of friendship and good-will, that it hoped for the prosperity and welfare of each and felt that the progress of the world was being set back by war between these two great nations. The President, therefore, urged the Russian and Japanese governments, not only for their

own good but in the interest of the whole civilized world, to open negotiations for the conclusion of peace. At the same time the President, while feeling that no necessity existed for calling in an intermediary, offered his services to aid in bringing about an arrangement of the necessary preliminaries with regard to the time and place of meeting, should it be possible for the two powers themselves to reach a direct agreement on these points. The form and tenor of the note was such that instead of giving offense to either government, it was cordially approved, and with surprising promptness the President's suggestions were accepted and plenipotentiaries appointed. After some discussion an American town was selected for the place of meeting, and early in August the plenipotentiaries with their secretaries arrived and the negotiations began. The Japanese demand for a large money indemnity was firmly rejected by the Russians, and for a time it seemed as if the conference must break up without reaching an agreement. Days of excitement and strain followed, the tension being increased by occasional rumors that the plenipotentiaries were packing their trunks with a view to an early departure from America. In the meantime, the President was laboring with untiring effort to bring the negotiators to agreement. Mysterious exchanges of visits between Portsmouth and Oyster Bay followed; powerful appeals were made by the President direct to the Czar and the Mikado, imploring them not to allow the conference to break up without concluding a treaty. Finally the President's efforts were crowned with success, an agreement on all points was reached and the war came to an end.

Everywhere throughout the civilized world Mr. Roosevelt was immediately recognized as the one man to whom the credit for the peace achievement was due. Congratulatory messages poured in upon him from emperors and kings,



statesmen and churchmen, political and commercial bodies of every description. The Czar telegraphed, saying, "The successful conclusion of the negotiations is due to your energetic efforts," and that "my country will gratefully recognize the great part you have played in the Portsmouth Peace Conference." The Mikado sent a similar dispatch thanking him "warmly" for his "disinterested and unremitting efforts in the interest of peace and humanity." The Emperor of Germany cabled his congratulations, saying, "I am overjoyed" and "the whole of mankind must unite in thanking you for the great boon you have given it." The London *Times*, in an editorial describing Mr. Roosevelt's "great service to the world," declared that it was to "his initiative, untiring energy, and refusal to despair of the successful outcome of the conference that peace is largely due." Such is to-day the world's tribute to Theodore Roosevelt, a tribute in which the people of the Republic, without regard to party or section, join with a feeling of genuine pride and affection.

## Chapter XLV

### PROGRESS OF A CENTURY

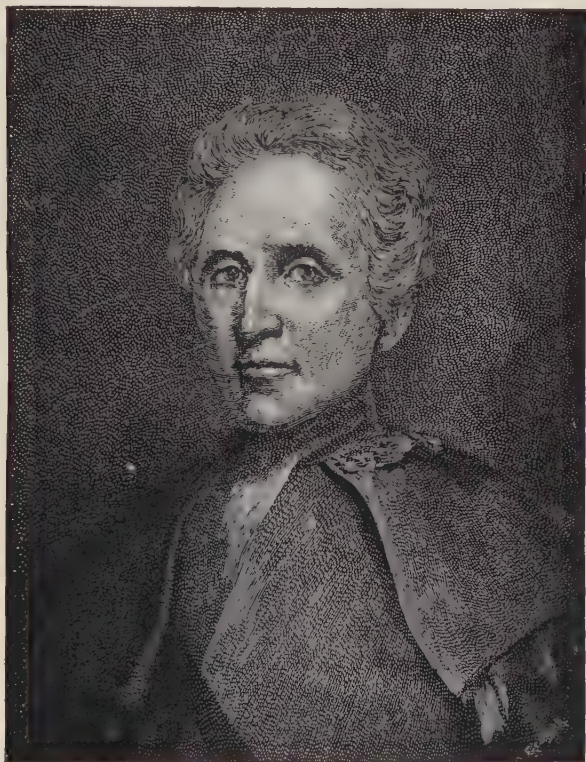
BY JOHN BACH M'MASTER, LL.D.

**W**HEN the War of Independence ended with the treaty of peace in 1783, our country extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Great Lakes and the province of Quebec on the north to the 31st degree of north latitude and the north boundary of Florida on the south. The region within these limits was owned, or claimed, by the thirteen States and Vermont, not then a member of the Union. Maine was a part of Massachusetts; Kentucky belonged to Virginia; Tennessee to North Carolina; what is now Alabama and Mississippi was claimed in part by South Carolina and Georgia; and the region north of the Ohio and west of Pennsylvania had but lately been ceded to Congress by Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut and Virginia.

The population, which amounted to less than three million souls, slaves included, was confined chiefly to the Atlantic seaboard. Beyond the mountains, as at Detroit and Vincennes, were a few old French settlements. In Kentucky and Tennessee were outposts of civilization planted by Boone, Harrod and the hardy frontiersmen who followed them. Most of the people lived on farms, in villages and plantations. The total population of the six principal cities amounted to but 131,000.

From an economic and industrial point of view the condition of our country was one of chaos. The Congress

of the Confederation was absolutely destitute of all power to regulate trade with foreign countries or between the States. It could not levy a tonnage duty, nor pass a navigation Act, nor impose a tax on imported goods, wares or merchandise, nor establish an excise, nor lay internal taxes



DANIEL BOONE  
Painting by Sully

of any sort. Each State regulated its own trade with foreign nations and with its neighbors in its own way. Congress, during the course of its existence, did, indeed, make treaties of commerce with France, the Netherlands, Morocco, Sweden and Prussia; but it could not by the imposition of discriminating duties, by countervailing, by

any restraint of trade, force a foreign nation to a reciprocity basis, and the Congress never secured from Spain, or Great Britain, a commercial treaty of any sort, though their territory surrounded us on three sides, and their island colonies lay off our coasts.

Manufactures had scarcely passed the household stage; agriculture was still primitive and agricultural implements were of the rudest sort. Mining was little practiced; transportation by land was slow and costly, for not a turnpike had been built, not a wide river was bridged, and not a steamboat or a railroad existed.

At the close of the Revolution slavery existed in every State save Pennsylvania, where a gradual abolition law was passed in 1780. But ere seven years passed it was abolished outright in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was undergoing gradual abolition by law in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and was forbidden in the Northwest Territory by the ordinance of 1787. Temporary servitude of white men, women and children under the redemption system was in universal use, but chiefly in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The free laborer toiled from sunrise to sunset, with one hour for breakfast and one for dinner, and was paid one rate of wages in summer and another in winter. Imprisonment for debt, however small, was universal.

The people, unwilling or unable to submit to taxation or incur debt for public improvements, resorted to lotteries as a means of securing money to pave streets, build bridges, town halls, schools, academies, provide churches with spires or bells, buy fire engines or improve docks and wharves. Our ships were excluded from British West Indian ports, and our flour, lumber, grain and whale oil discriminated against in British ports when brought thither in American vessels. Our commercial relations with Great Britain were regulated, not by treaty, but by orders in council under

authority of an Act of Parliament. Save foreign coins there was no metal circulating medium, and in all the land there was but one bank. The money of the people consisted of coins struck in foreign mints, and various sorts of bills of credit issued by each State, passing at a discount and rarely ever received outside the limits of the State that issued them.

The economic defects of the Confederation early attracted the attention of Congress, and by 1783 serious efforts were made to find a remedy. The States were asked to amend the Articles of Confederation and give Congress power for twenty-five years to lay an import duty of five per cent. *ad valorem* on all goods imported, save pepper, coffee, tea, and Madeira wines, on which specific duties were to be levied; and to regulate trade with foreign nations for a period of fifteen years. To secure such amendments required the consent of each of the thirteen States, which could not be obtained. Some of the States, meantime, proceeded to impose duties and restrictions for the regulation of foreign trade; but lack of uniformity and the failure of other States to follow their example practically defeated their purpose. American ships, excluded from the West Indies and confined to direct trade with Great Britain, could not compete with British ships which came over loaded with manufactured goods, took a cargo of American products to the West Indies, and thence home, freighted with the articles of West Indian production. Driven to desperation, Virginia in 1786 invited her sister States to send delegates to a convention at Annapolis to take into consideration the state of trade and commerce in the United States. Few attended, and the convention, under the lead of Hamilton, requested Congress to call another, which met at Philadelphia, and, abandoning all hope of amending the Articles of Confederation, framed the Constitution.



By that instrument Congress is invested with power to regulate trade with foreign nations, among the States and with the Indians; the States are forbidden to issue bills of credit or make anything but gold and silver legal tender; Congress has power to coin money, fix the value thereof, regulate the currency and lay taxes, duties, imposts and excises, all of which is the direct result of the experience gained in the dark days of 1783-1787.

With the adoption of the new Constitution and the establishment of a new government, conditions began to mend. A tariff was enacted; tonnage dues imposed; the debts incurred by the States in the war for independence were assumed, and together with the continental debt were funded; a bank, empowered to issue notes and to establish branches in the States, was chartered; a federal system of coinage was adopted, a mint established, and a census ordered to be taken in 1790. From that census it appears that there were living in the United States 3,929,000 people; that Virginia was the most populous State and Philadelphia the most populous city; that the five States of Virginia, Maryland, the two Carolinas and Georgia, or the planting States, contained nearly one-half the population of the country, and that the people were moving westward from the seaboard along three well-defined routes. One, chiefly from New England, was pushing up the Mohawk Valley and had gone as far as Utica. Another was moving down the Ohio, peopling Kentucky and founding towns on the north bank of the Ohio. The third had entered the region about the headwaters of the Cumberland and had planted settlements at Nashville and along the Tennessee. Hard times which followed the peace, cheap lands in the west, imprisonment for debt, and the general economic condition of the country were the causes of this westward march.

The establishment of a strong government, the assump-

tion and funding of the debts, the charter of the bank and the general financial policy of the government restored confidence. Money long in hiding was brought out and investment eagerly sought in corporate enterprises. State banks were chartered; five and twenty canals were planned and many started; turnpike companies were incorporated and manufacturing plants put up in many places. An era of industrial development opened, when, suddenly, France made war on Great Britain, opened her West Indian ports to neutral trade, and the whole course of our economic growth was changed. To put money into canals, bridges, turnpikes and wait till they were built for dividends, to be content with the small returns of a little factory when quick returns and large profits were to be made by loading a vessel with flour, grain, fish, barrel staves, lumber, and sending it to a port in the French Antilles, was poor business. Capital was, therefore, withdrawn from slow-going enterprises and invested in ships and cargoes. Canal building stopped, but one turnpike was finished and our tonnage rose from 201,000 tons in 1789 to 729,000 tons in 1795.

In this prosperity the South had little share. The foreign markets for her cotton, her tobacco, her rice, were Great Britain, France and Portugal. There, as a consequence, the westward movement of population was unchecked and her people streamed over the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee. In the Middle and Eastern States the demand for ships and sailors, as well as for products of the soil, flour, grain, breadstuffs and lumber, gave increased employment to the people, checked the westward movement of emigrants or sent them into the valleys of the great rivers down which grain and lumber could be floated to a market, and commerce and agriculture flourished exceedingly.

With the rise of Napoleon to the First Consulship and the return of peace in Europe, this prosperity ended. Dull

times returned. Congress adopted the credit system of selling lands with five years' exemption from taxation; population once more set westward, and in 1803 Ohio was admitted as a State in the Union. That year Napoleon declared war on Great Britain; that year we purchased Louisiana and relieved our countrymen in the Ohio valley from the trade restrictions imposed on them by Spain. Once more trade, commerce and agriculture flourished, and in four years' time we became the great neutral maritime power of the world, and our tonnage passed the million mark.

All the enterprise, all the energy, all the capital of the Eastern and the Middle States seemed to be centered in ships and commerce and in such products of the soil as found a ready foreign market, while manufactures languished and were suffered to fall into decay. So dependent were we on Great Britain for our china, glass, crockery, hardware, edge-tools, cottons, woolens, leather goods and a hundred other articles of daily use, that the duties paid annually on such imports from that country made up nearly half the gross revenue collected at the custom houses. Three results followed this growth of commerce. Demand for capital led to the steady increase of State banks. Demand for products for shipment led to the construction of turnpikes in grain-growing, flour-making States. The third was the attempt of Great Britain to pass this commerce through her custom houses for examination and license; the resistance of Napoleon, and that series of orders in Council and French Decrees which led at last to retaliation from us. In 1807 the Long Embargo was laid, and for fifteen months not a ship sailed for a foreign port, and for part of this time even the coasting trade was suspended.

To us who look back, it is easy to see that this, although a political and financial blunder, was one of the greatest acts

in all our economic history, for while it struck down commerce for the time being, it laid the foundation of American manufactures, set in motion those forces which made us independent of Europe industrially, as we are politically, and finally brought about protection of manufactures as a policy. Scarcely had the passage of the Embargo been made public, when associations were formed to provide for the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods. Associations whose members were pledged to use none but American made goods, if they could be had at not more than 25 per cent. advance on the cost of British goods, sprang up, and when the various State legislatures met in 1808, a very important part of their work was incorporating Union Companies for the manufacture of woolen and cotton cloth. Taxes were remitted on their plants; mill and factory hands were exempt from jury and military duty; and as an example worthy of emulation members of several legislatures pledged themselves to attend the next sessions clothed from head to foot in articles of American manufacture. The lifting of the Embargo in 1809 and the restoration of trade with all the world save France and Great Britain threatened the life of many of these infant industries, and the hemp-growing, hemp-manufacturing State of Kentucky cried out to Congress for protection. But how was Congress to know what should be protected? No statistics of the kind, value or output of manufactures existed.

Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, therefore, was bidden to gather such information, and in 1810 made his report to Congress, with the suggestion that when the census was taken in 1810 the marshals and their deputies should collect the information Congress needed. This was done, but when the statistics thus collected, arranged, classified and digested, were presented to Congress, our country was on the eve of war. War followed, and for three years, our



infant manufactures received additional stimulus on account of non-intercourse with Europe.

Great improvement meantime had been made in the means of transportation. Many large rivers had been bridged; several thousand miles of turnpike had been built in New England and the Middle States; the steamboat had appeared on the Hudson, the Delaware, Lake Champlain and Chesapeake Bay, and in 1811 the first on the western waters went from Pittsburg to New Orleans. One great highway to the west was up the Hudson, along the Mohawk and by canal and lake to Oswego; by sailing vessel to Lewiston; around Niagara Falls to Black Rock; by boat to Westport on Lake Erie, by land to Chautauqua Lake and by its outlet and the Allegheny to Pittsburg. A second route was across Pennsylvania from Philadelphia, and a third, from Cumberland on the Potomac to Wheeling on the Ohio, was under construction by the Federal Government. The journey from Boston to New York could now be made in forty-eight hours; from New York to Philadelphia in eleven hours; and from Boston to Washington in four and a quarter days. Freight from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was twenty days on the way.

Thus was it that at the opening of the war three economic conditions pressed for treatment. The currency was in great disorder; the need of internal improvements and cheap transportation to the West was of vital importance to the East, and our manufacturers were threatened with destruction by the competition of cheap foreign products. The refusal to recharter the United States Bank, the legislation of the States against small change notes put out by individuals and unincorporated associations (no bank in those days could issue notes below the denomination of one dollar), and the near approach of the day when many State banks must seek a renewal of their charters, brought up the



question of State banking, in 1811, in almost every State in the Union. A wild mania for State banks swept over the country, and from 88 in 1811 the number rose to 208 in 1814, and that same year every one of them, outside of New England, suspended specie payments and brought the government and the people to bankruptcy.

The return of peace and the opening of our ports to British trade was followed by the arrival of fleets of British merchantmen loaded with the products of British mills. They came in charge of supercargoes and agents of the mills and factories, and as they were not consigned to merchants were sent to the auction room and sold in original packages, to the ruin of the American importer, wholesale merchant, ocean carrier and manufacturer, all of whom joined in a demand for protection. The response of Congress was the tariff of 1816, the first ever deliberately and systematically planned for the protection of American manufactures.

The suspension of specie payments in 1814, outside of New England, made the paper issues of the State banks the only circulating medium of the country and led Congress (1816) to charter a second Bank of the United States to serve as a safe depository of government revenue; to regulate the currency; to supply a uniform circulating medium and to aid in forcing the resumption of specie payments, which was brought about in 1817. Hard times now set in on the seaboard. The inflated prosperity, built up by the long war in Europe and at home, was gone. Again our ships were excluded from the British West Indies. The great carrying trade between the powers of Europe and their colonies now went in their own ships. Business readjustment on a domestic and a peace basis was the order of the day. Trades, occupations, and pursuits of all kinds were affected, and the people, allured by cheap lands and no taxes for five

years, went west by tens and hundreds of thousands to settle on the government domain. Never before had such an exodus been known. A great wave of emigrants rushed westward, and in five years' time Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri entered the Union as States. The census of 1820 showed that the population had risen to 9,633,000, that more than two million were west of the Allegheny Mountains, and that in every seaboard State save New York the ratio of increase of population had fallen since 1810.

The West from an economic point of view was now independent of the East. The products of its farms, mines and forests could, as of old, be floated down the Mississippi and its tributaries to New Orleans, exchanged there for the products of European mills and factories which, now that the steamboat had been introduced on the Mississippi, could be carried from New Orleans to St. Louis, to Cincinnati, to Pittsburg. If the cities of the East were to hold their Western trade cheaper means of transportation to Pittsburg must be secured, and the question of internal improvement at Federal expense rose to national importance. While Congress and the Presidents wrangled over the constitutional right of Congress to use money for such purposes, the States began to act. In 1817 New York broke ground for the Erie Canal and pushed its construction with such vigor that in 1825 a packet with De Witt Clinton on board left Buffalo, passed through the canal, went down the Hudson, and, in the harbor of New York, water from Lake Erie was emptied from a keg into the waters of the Atlantic. The effect of this canal was immediate. Pennsylvania in alarm began the construction of her system of canals and roads to join Philadelphia with Pittsburg; Maryland pushed her turnpikes to the Susquehanna, and to the national road at Cumberland; Virginia went seriously to work on the

Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and Ohio began a like work between Cleveland and the Ohio River.

Meantime the beneficial effects expected of the tariff of 1816 had not been realized. Goods manufactured in Great Britain were sold for less than cost to agents of the manufacturer residing in our seaports. The bill of sale countersigned by the American consul of the port of shipment would be presented at the customs house, and on this valuation the duties were levied and the goods then sent to auction. Such undervaluation broke down the tariff, manufactures declined, and in 1819 our country entered on one of the worst years of business depression we have ever known. Long afterwards it was spoken of as "Eighteen Hundred-and-starve-to-death." In 1819, therefore, tariff reform began again to be agitated, and in 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 appeals for a new Act were made to Congress. But not till 1824, when the Republican party had four candidates for the Presidency in the field, and when neither faction dared seriously oppose it, did a new bill pass Congress and the President. To the growers of wool and the manufacturers of wool the new tariff proved far from satisfactory, and in response to their call, a convention of manufacturers of all sorts of goods met at Harrisburg, in 1827, and urged a new tariff. Again Congress yielded, and in 1828 enacted the famous "Tariff of abominations." To any such legislation the planting States had long been opposed, and as early as 1825 South Carolina passed resolutions denying that Congress had power "to levy duties to protect domestic manufactures." Virginia made a like denial in 1826, and again in 1827. That same year both South Carolina and Georgia remonstrated, and in 1828 North Carolina, Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia; and in 1829, Mississippi and Virginia. So high did opposition rise in South Carolina that in the summer of 1830 the campaign for calling a con-

vention to nullify the Act of 1824 and 1826 was started in earnest. In 1832 Clay was a candidate for the Presidency, and alarmed at the attitude of the South toward the tariff, and persuaded that the extinction of the national debt, then near at hand, would make a revision of the tariff necessary, seized the opportunity and carried through the tariff of 1832. Duties to the amount of twelve millions annually were taken off, but the protective feature was retained, and in 1832 South Carolina nullified the tariffs of 1828 and 1832, and extorted from Congress the compromise tariff of 1833.

While the quarrel over the tariff was rapidly coming to a crisis, the President was constantly urging Congress to act on the Bank of the United States. In his opinion that Bank was unconstitutional, had failed to provide the country with a sound circulating medium, and ought not to have its charter continued after its lapse in 1836. That day was nearly seven years away, and a presidential election must intervene. But these facts made no difference to Jackson, and again and again he attacked the Bank in his annual messages in 1829, 1830 and 1831. Clay, in 1831, as a candidate for the Presidency, was convinced that it would be good politics to make the question of re-charter an issue in the campaign, and in 1832 secured the passage of an Act to extend the charter. Jackson vetoed it, the attempt to pass it over the veto failed, and the question of bank or no bank went to the people. The triumph of Jackson at the election in 1832 settled the issue, and considering his reelection an instruction from the people, he went on with his attack, and in October, 1833, ordered that in future the government money should be deposited in such State banks as the Secretary of the Treasury might designate.

Fear that the deposits in the Bank of the United States would be withdrawn at once and in bulk brought on a period



of restriction of discount and loans, and in 1834 the business world was forced to meet a money famine. As it became apparent that the deposits in the Bank of the United States were not to be removed, but drawn out gradually to meet current expenses, alarm subsided and the money market went back to normal conditions.

Our countrymen were then engaged in improving and developing every known means of internal communication. Turnpikes were being built, canals dug, and in 1828 ground was broken for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and before Jackson went out of office more than three thousand miles of canal and as many more of railroad were in operation. The rapid increase of manufacturing establishments, the growth of cities, the construction of canals and railroads had been followed by an immense increase in the number of the working class. The sons and daughters of farmers went by thousands into the mills and factories, thousands of skilled workmen came from abroad and thousands more of unskilled laborers were imported to work on the railroads and canals. The first effect of all this was the entrance into politics, between 1828 and 1831, of the workingmen in the large cities, and demands for lien laws, common schools, better wages and payment in good money; an increase in trades unions from 1830 to 1833; the formation in 1833 of General Trades Unions in the chief cities; demands for better wages, a working day from six in the morning to six in the evening with one hour for breakfast and another for dinner and no prison-made goods, followed by innumerable strikes to secure their demands. In Philadelphia in 1835 the ten-hour day was secured.

The year 1835 is made memorable by the extinction of the national debt and the entrance of the country on a wild career of speculation. Starting with a debt of \$75,000,000 in 1790, Congress set apart as a sinking fund for its pay-



ment the proceeds of sales of the public lands, and the surplus revenue from duties on imports and tonnage and the interest on bonds purchased; and in 1792 appointed the president of the Senate, the Chief Justice and the Attorney General commissioners to use the sinking fund to pay the debt. The funds thus set apart were never large, and no important reduction was made in the amount of the debt, till, in Gallatin's time, a new principle was introduced. After 1802 a specified sum was annually appropriated to the sinking fund, and then the debt began to decrease rapidly. After the war with Great Britain the yearly appropriation was increased, and from \$127,000,000 in 1816 the debt melted away to nothing on January 1, 1835.

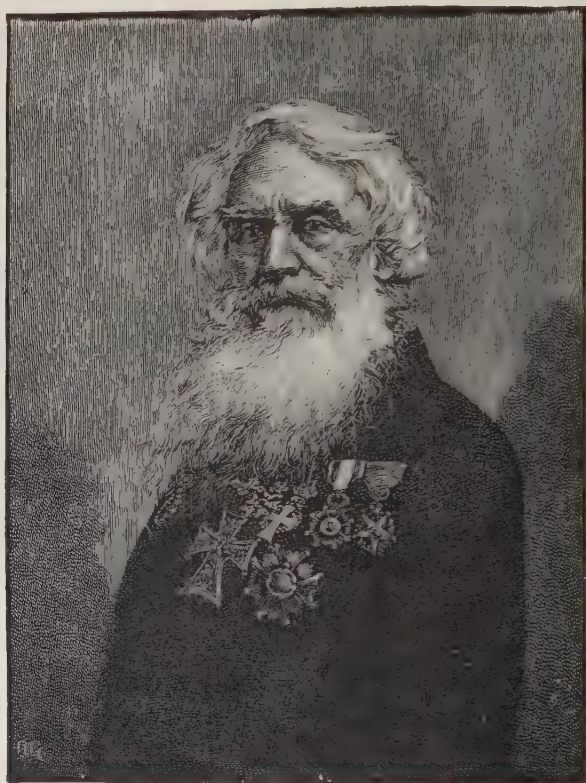
Our country had never before been so prosperous. Cities were being rebuilt and spreading in area. Railroads and canals had multiplied in number, had opened up to markets sections of country till then isolated, had reduced the cost of transportation and had increased the assessed valuation of farm land for purpose of State taxation. Money was plentiful and made cheaper yet by the incorporation of new and the increase in the capital of old banks and a great inflation of paper currency. The dislike of the President and his party leaders to paper money and the discovery of small gold mines in Georgia and Carolina had led, in 1834, to a new coinage law and an attempt to force specie small change into circulation. It now became the fashion, therefore, to legislate against banknotes of small denominations, and by 1836 eleven States had forbidden the issue of bank bills under five dollars. This had no effect on large borrowers, and the country entered on an era of speculation. Stocks of banks, railroads, canals, manufacturing and improvement companies, as well as bonds of the States, were now becoming objects of speculation, and the terms "Bulls" and "Bears" became familiar to the people

for the first time in our history. Everybody was investing and speculating. Timber lands in Maine, real estate in the cities, suburban farms cut into lots, brought prices that seemed fabulous. That the public lands should escape was impossible. When not sold at auction, the price was \$1.25 an acre, and at that price speculators hastened to buy. From \$4,000,000 in 1834 the proceeds of land sales rose to \$14,000,000 in 1835, and to \$24,000,000 in 1836. Speculation in foreign goods had been quite as wild, and though the tariff had suffered a reduction in 1833 and another in 1835, the receipts from customs dues rose from \$16,000,000 in 1834 to \$23,000,000 in 1836.

These two sources of revenue, the land sales and the customs, rolled up a surplus of \$42,000,000, all of which, save \$5,000,000, was distributed among the States in 1837. The removal of the surplus from the five and thirty banks in which it was deposited to such others as the States designated forced a stoppage of loans and discounts, brought on a general liquidation of debt, a suspension of specie payment, and precipitated the panic of 1837, which would probably have come later from other causes. The fourth installment of the distribution fund was suspended, the government was again plunged in debt and four years of hard times followed.

The quarter century which ended with 1840 was one of great mechanical improvement. It was during this period that fire bricks, paper made from hay and straw, penknives, axes, chisels, and edged tools were first manufactured in our country; that boards were first planed by machine; that Fairbanks invented the platform scales; that ether was discovered; that Howe made and sold the first lock-stitch sewing machine; that Morse invented the recording telegraph; that steel pens and friction matches came into use; that Colt invented the revolver, and that the reaper was given its first

public trial; that the art of burning anthracite coal was discovered; that the railroad was introduced and the steamboat greatly developed; that omnibuses appeared in the large cities; that steam navigation of the Atlantic began; and



SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE  
From a daguerreotype

schemes of all sorts were considered and attempts made to build a canal across Panama.

In the decade from 1840 to 1850 Texas was annexed, the north boundary of Oregon was settled, the war with Mexico fought, an immense territory taken from Mexico was added to our domain, gold was discovered in California, and the first State on the Pacific Coast was admitted to the

Union. During this decade express companies were organized, postage stamps were introduced, the sewing machine was made a success by Howe, electric telegraph lines were put in operation, the daguerreotype introduced, and vulcanized india rubber made by Goodyear. Until 1850 the people had moved steadily westward. Between 1821 and 1836 the steamboat, better roads, canals and the railroad had checked the movement across the Mississippi, had led to a filling up of the Western States, and during sixteen years no new State was admitted into the Union. In 1836 Arkansas and in 1837 Michigan came into the Union. The addition of two slave States, Florida and Texas, in 1845 made necessary the admission of two free States, so Iowa entered in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848.

Thus far each State created had touched some other east, north, or south of it. With the rush of gold-seekers to California in 1849 and the admission of California in 1850, a State existed parted by nearly two thousand miles of almost uninhabited desert from the nearest State to the eastward.

This condition gave serious importance to the long-urged plan of Asa Whitney for a railroad to the Pacific, and in 1853 five routes between latitude  $32^{\circ}$  and  $49^{\circ}$  were ordered surveyed. Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, recommended the most southern route in 1855, and the platforms of both the Republican and Democratic parties in 1856 called for a railroad to the Pacific. But local jealousy defeated a choice of routes and the decade ended with nothing done.

Meantime gold was discovered (1858) on the eastern slopes of the Rockies, a wild rush set in for Pike's Peak, and in a few months Denver was a town of a thousand people with a daily line of coaches to Leavenworth. In 1860 Denver was a city of frame and brick houses with two



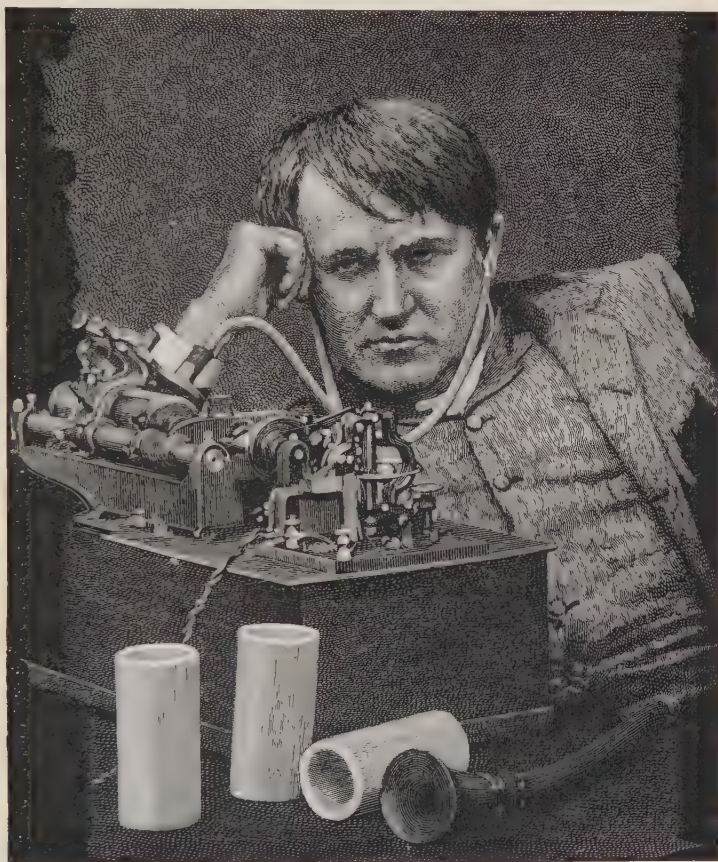
theaters, two newspapers and a mint. That same year a pony express spanned the plains and mountains from the Missouri to San Francisco, and the overland coach soon followed.

The war made quick communication with the Pacific more imperative than ever, the secession of the Southern States eliminated the contest for the southern route, and in 1862 the Union Pacific and Central Pacific were chartered to build, the one westward and the other eastward, till they met. Construction began in 1866, and in 1869 a line of rails stretched from Omaha to Sacramento. What gold did for California and Denver, silver and the railroad did for the country east of the Sierras. In 1859 the rich mines on Mt. Davidson were discovered, population rushed thither, Virginia City sprang up, and Nevada was made a Territory in 1861. In 1861 Colorado Territory was organized, and out of what are now the two Dakotas and Montana was formed Dakota Territory. Scarcely had this been done when gold was found on the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri River, and Bannock City, Virginia City and Helena were founded, and Montana became a Territory in 1864. Precious metals were discovered in 1862 in what was then eastern Washington, and Boise City, Idaho City, and Lewiston became thriving towns, and in 1863 Idaho Territory was formed. Before the decade ended Arizona and Wyoming were Territories; Nebraska and Nevada were States and Alaska had been purchased from Russia; the production of petroleum had become an important industry; a cable joined the Old World and the New, and the labor system of the South had been changed by the war from slave to free.

With the close of the war our countrymen entered a new era of industrial development, which far surpassed any that went before. During the fifteen years 1865-1880, dynamite, the barbed wire fence, the Gatling gun were in-



roduced, the compressed-air rock drill, the Westinghouse brake, the Janney car coupler, the cable car system, the machine for making tin cans, the electric light, the electric



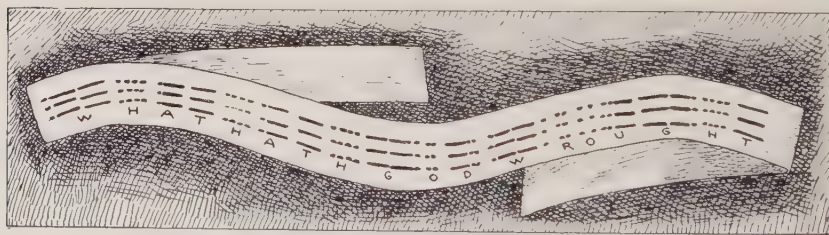
THOMAS ALVA EDISON  
Photograph from life

motor, electric railway, the phonograph and telephone, the gas engine, the passenger elevator, the typewriter and many more mechanical devices which have transformed the business and social life of the people.

Trades, industries, and corporations were multiplied,

and financial and labor issues became the questions of the hour. The short voyage and low fares from Europe, prosperity and good wages in our own country, brought thousands each year from the Old World to swell the ranks of labor in the New. Between 1867 and 1873, 2,500,000 emigrants reached our shores. The little trades unions of 1840 were now swallowed up in "The Noble Order of Knights of Labor," demanding labor bureaus; government ownership of telephones, telegraphs, and railroads; an eight hour day; no convict labor; no importation of labor under contract; reservation of the public domain for actual settlers, and regulation of interstate commerce. The demands were heard, and in 1885 came the anti-contract labor law; in 1887 the Interstate Commerce Act; in 1888 the Department of Labor, and a second and more stringent Anti-Chinese law. These matters disposed of a growing surplus, brought financial issues to the front, and the Mills Bill, the Sherman Act, the McKinley tariff, the Wilson Bill and the Dingley tariff followed.

Then another era of expansion opened. In 1898 Hawaii was annexed, and in the same year Tutuila, Porto Rico, Guam, Wake and the Philippines were acquired, thus carrying our domain across the Pacific to the doors of China.



THE FIRST MESSAGE SENT BY THE MORSE TELEGRAPH

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

For an elaborate general bibliography of the literature of American history the reader is referred to Channing and Hart's *Guide to American History*, published in 1896. Scholarly bibliographies of source material dealing with the early period, accompanied by critical notes, are to be found in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* (8 volumes, Boston, 1886-1889). A valuable list of histories, documents, records, biographies and other material relating to special phases and periods of American history, political, economic and social, may be found in the *Cambridge Modern History* (Vol. VII., New York, 1903). The value of this list is impaired, however, by the occasional carelessness in giving authors' names and the frequent inaccuracy in quoting titles. A full and useful bibliography, dealing not only with the history of the United States, but with the Western Continent in general, is contained in J. N. Larned's *Literature of American History* (Boston, 1902). Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the United States* (Washington, 1905) contains a careful review of the character and location of various historical records, manuscript and printed, at the national capital.

### GENERAL HISTORIES OF THE UNITED STATES

There is almost no single comprehensive history of America from the discovery to the present time. A 28-volume series designed to meet such a want is *The American Nation*, now in course of preparation under the editorship

of A. B. Hart, with the coöperation of a group of historical scholars. Several volumes have already appeared, and when completed it will be the most comprehensive general history of this country in existence. Woodrow Wilson's *History of the American People* (5 volumes, New York, 1902) is perhaps the nearest approach to such a work that has as yet appeared. Written with a forceful style, exhibiting a breadth of view and a spirit of impartiality rarely excelled by historians, the work nevertheless suffers in that it is too general in character. It is too much an appreciation of men and measures and too little a consecutive narrative of facts for the average reader. What gives promise of a most excellent History of the United States is Channing's new work, one volume of which, covering the period of discovery and colonization, has recently appeared. An older general history is Bryant and Gay's *Popular History of the United States* (5 volumes, New York, 1876-1881). It covers the period from 1492 to 1870, is written in an interesting style, but lacks perspective and is besides largely out of date. A recently published one-volume history of particular value for advanced students is the *Cambridge Modern History* (New York, 1903), planned by the late Lord Acton of Cambridge University, and consisting of a series of essays by English and American specialists. Aside from the inevitable duplication and lack of continuity and proportion in a work so planned and executed, it has all the merits of a monographic history written by eminent specialists. John Clark Ridpath's *Popular History of the United States*, T. W. Higginson's *Larger History of the United States*, Goldwin Smith's *History of the United States*, and H. W. Elson's *History of the United States* (New York, 1904) are popular one-volume works dealing with the entire field from the discovery to recent times. Of these the latest and best is Elson's book. It is written in a popular style, with



proper regard to perspective, and is fairly free from errors of fact.

Another one-volume history of unusual merit, but less of a popular character, is Edward Channing's *Student's History of the United States*. A. B. Hart's *American History Told by Contemporaries* (4 volumes) gives a general view of American history by means of a series of well-selected extracts from various source material, and is an invaluable supplement to the other standard accounts. The *American Statesman Series* (32 volumes, Boston, 1898), affords a general account of American history during the national period as told in the lives of American statesmen. The series is uniform and indexed. The different volumes also appeared separately. Another series of considerable merit, and which in time promises to constitute a general history of the United States, is the *American Commonwealth*, edited by Horace E. Scudder. A number of excellent volumes have appeared and others are promised.

#### GENERAL HISTORIES OF PARTICULAR PERIODS

Of the histories of the early period, the first and most noteworthy is George Bancroft's *History of the United States* (6 volumes, Boston, 1834-1874). It covers the field from 1492 to 1789, and for many years was the standard authority on early American history. Although still valuable, it has been largely superseded by the work of later historical investigators who had access to records and other sources which were not available to historical students in Bancroft's day. The period from the discovery to the year 1821 is covered by Richard Hildreth in his *History of the United States* (6 volumes, New York, 1851-1856). Like Bancroft's history, it has been largely superseded by the more accurate works of later historians, but for a long time



it was regarded as a standard authority. Among the defects of Hildreth's history may be mentioned the unattractiveness of the author's style and his strong Federalist partisanship. The history of French exploration and colonization in America and the struggle with the English for supremacy in the great valleys of North America has been charmingly told by Francis Parkman in twelve volumes under various titles (Boston, 1865-1892). The most important of these are his *Montcalm and Wolfe* (2 volumes), *Half Century of Conflict* (2 volumes), and *Pioneers of New France* (1 volume). It is doubtful if any American historical writer has written with a greater charm of style or with more accuracy than Parkman. A comprehensive history of the United States from 1784 to 1844 is John Bach McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* (6 volumes, New York, 1883-1904, to be completed to the Civil War). A distinctive merit of McMaster's work is the emphasis which is given to social and material development of the people, but it is defective in that it lacks consecutiveness of treatment, exaggerates the importance of minor incidents and fails to show the influence upon the national development of great political movements and of great men. A work of greater monumental character is Hermann Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States, 1783-1861* (8 volumes, Chicago, 1876-1892, translated from the German by J. J. Lalor). This is a painstaking work, showing evidence of great research and originality of thought, but also of strong bias and lack of sympathy with American institutions. It deals mainly with the slavery controversy, which in the mind of the author dominated all other questions. A work covering substantially the same period is James Schouler's *History of the United States, 1789-1865* (6 volumes, New York, 1891). Dealing with political, constitutional and social movements, it has certain

merits in which both McMaster's and Von Holst's works are lacking. An unusually excellent history is James Ford Rhodes's *History of the United States Since the Compromise of 1850* (5 volumes, New York, 1893-1905). The author devotes two volumes to the decade immediately preceding the Civil War, three volumes to the war and the beginning of reconstruction (1866) and a final volume is to bring the work down to 1878. Rhodes's history is singularly free from traces of bias and partisanship, shows evidence of the most painstaking research and is on the whole attractively written.

Henry Adams's *History of the United States* (9 volumes, New York, 1889-1891) covers the brief period of Jefferson's and Madison's administrations. Hardly any other period of American history has been so thoroughly and well written and it is a matter of regret that the author has not seen fit to continue his work. A monument of scholarship and indefatigable research is Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* (8 volumes) covering the period from the year 1000 to 1840, and consisting mainly of essays by specialists and accompanied by critical bibliographical notes by Mr. Winsor. General histories of the Civil War are T. A. Dodge's *Bird's-eye View of the Civil War*; John C. Ropes's *Story of the Civil War*; J. W. Burgess's *The Constitution and the Civil War*, and "The Century War Book," *Battles and Leaders* (4 large volumes, written by commanders of both sides and containing valuable statistical information relative to the military strength of both armies.) The best general histories of the period subsequent to the Civil War are W. A. Dunning's *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*, J. W. Burgess's *The Constitution and Reconstruction*, and E. B. Andrews's *The History of the United States* (2 volumes) and *The History of the United States in Our Own Time*, by the same author (1 volume).

Notable works on special topics are: Edward Stan-

wood's *History of the Presidency*, containing reprints of all national party platforms, together with tables of electoral and popular votes for presidential candidates; A. de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (translated from the French by H. Reeve), an appreciative study of American institutions by an intelligent foreign observer seventy years ago; George T. Curtis's *Constitutional History of the United States* (2 volumes), an illuminating treatise by a famous lawyer; J. A. Jameson's *The Constitutional Convention*, a scholarly study of the process of constitution-making; F. N. Thorpe's *Constitutional History of the American People* (2 volumes); also his *Constitutional History of the United States* (3 volumes); *The Federalist*, a commentary on the Constitution of the United States by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison (various editions); J. L. Bishop's *History of American Manufactures* (3 volumes); A. S. Bolles, *Financial History of the United States* (3 volumes); D. R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*; F. W. Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States*; J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy and American Diplomacy in the Orient*; John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party* (6 volumes); H. L. Carson, *History of the Supreme Court of the United States*; George E. Howard, *Introduction to the Local Constitutional History of the United States*; E. S. Maclay, *History of the United States Navy* (3 volumes); M. C. Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution* (2 volumes); B. Wendell, *Literary History of America*; E. G. Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*; T. MacCoun, *Historical Geography of the United States*; B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*; Campbell, *The Puritan in England, Holland and America*; T. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (4 volumes); W. M. Meigs, *Growth*

*of the Constitution*; C. E. Stevens, *Sources of the Constitution*; Judson Landon, *Constitutional History of the United States*; R. H. C. Catterall, *The United States Bank*; T. Dwight, *The Hartford Convention*; J. P. Gordy, *History of Political Parties* (4 volumes); W. F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*; C. W. Loring, *Nullification and Secession*; D. W. Houston, *Critical Study of Nullification*; R. M. Ormsby, *History of the Whig Party*; George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America*; E. D. Warfield, *Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions*; W. H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*; S. W. Cobb, *Rise of Religious Liberty in America*; C. H. McCarthy, *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction*; J. L. M. Curry, *The Southern States of the American Union*; also *History of the Government of the Confederate States*; J. M. Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*; C. Cushing, *The Treaty of Washington*; L. M. Keasby, *The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine*.

For the European background of American History and the play of international forces that have so profoundly affected our history, the student must turn to the histories of other countries. The most valuable of these in English, for the Colonial and subsequent period, are included in the splendid works of the English historical writers. The following brief list includes the most important works: H. C. Lea, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*; Edwin Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks* (2 volumes); A. J. Grant, *The French Monarchy, 1483-1789*; P. J. Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands* (3 volumes), in part translated by Ruth Putnam; C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*; C. M. Daviess, *History of Holland and of the Dutch Nation* (3 volumes); W. Busch, *England Under the Tudors*; J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*. (2 vol-



umes); J. A. Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Armada* (12 volumes); A. F. Pollard, *England Under Protector Somerset*; S. R. Gardiner, *History of England from 1603-1642* (10 volumes), *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649* (4 volumes), and *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (3 volumes); Leopold von Ranke, *History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century* (6 volumes); Samuel Hopkins, *The Puritans and Queen Elizabeth* (3 volumes); A. B. Hinds, *The England of Elizabeth*; J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*; H. Green, *The Scotch-Irish in America*; G. P. Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas of the Seventeenth Century*; C. G. Walpole, *The Kingdom of Ireland*; W. A. Shaw, *The English Church During the Reformation*; Lord Macaulay, *History of England from the Accession of James II.* (8 volumes); Earl Stanhope, *History of England, 1701-1713* (2 volumes); Lord Mahon, *History of England, 1713-1783* (7 volumes); W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (8 volumes); Harriet Martineau, *History of England from the Beginning of the XIX. Century to the Crimean War* (4 volumes); Horace Walpole, *George III.* (2 volumes); also *History of England from 1815* (6 volumes); L. S. Pike, *Constitutional History of the House of Lords*; A. V. Dicey, *The Privy Council*; Crawson and Keane, *The Early English Chartered Companies*; Henry Hallam, *Constitutional History of England* (3 volumes); H. E. Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy*; J. R. Seeley, *Expansion of England*; W. N. Massey, *History of England During the Reign of George III.* (4 volumes); John Morley, *Life of W. E. Gladstone* (3 volumes).



## HISTORIES OF SPECIAL PERIODS

THE ABORIGINES: D. G. Brinton, *The American Race*; G. Catlin, *Manners, Customs, etc., of the American Indians* (6 volumes, London, 1841); H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States* (5 volumes); S. G. Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America*; George E. Ellis, *The Red Man and White Man*; George B. Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*; N. S. Shaler, *Nature and Man in America*; Farrand, *Basis of American History*; James Adair, *History of the American Indians*; Lucien Biart, *The Aztecs, Their History, Manners and Customs*; E. M. Chadwick, *The People of the Long House*; W. H. Dall, *Tribes of the Extreme Northwest*; N. O. G. Nordenskiöld, *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde, Southwest Colorado*; E. M. Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River*; F. S. Dellenbaugh, *North Americans of Yesterday*; H. R. Schoolcraft, *American Indians*; J. A. Teit, *The Thompson River Indians*; J. G. E. Heckwelder, *History of the Indian Nations Who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*; Frederick Starr, *First Steps in Human Progress* and *The American Indian*; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (2 volumes); H. C. Yarrow, *Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs among the North American Indians*; see also the Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution, as these contain the results of the most recent investigation.

DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION: In addition to general accounts mentioned above, the following brief list of special works will be of assistance to students who wish more detailed information than is given in the above general accounts.

*Spanish*.—John Fiske, *Discovery of America* (2 volumes); H. Harrisse, *Christopher Columbus*; Henry Vignaud, *Toscanelli and Columbus*; H. H. Bancroft, *History of Central America and of Mexico* (3 volumes); Washington Irving, *Life and Voyages of Columbus* (a work of great literary value and at the same time the result of careful investigation); C. K. Adams, *Christopher Columbus*; A. F. A. Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*; Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*; W. Rossher, *The Spanish Colonial System*; Arthur Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America*; Grace King, *De Soto and His Men*; J. B. Thatcher, *Christopher Columbus* (3 volumes); C. R. Markham, *Life of Christopher Columbus*; F. H. H. Guillemard, *Life of Ferdinand Magellan and the First Circumnavigation of the Globe*; E. G. Bourne, *Narratives of Hernando de Soto*; G. P. Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (in United States Bureau of Ethnology, 14th Annual Report).

*French*.—William Kingsford, *History of Canada* (10 volumes); Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America, La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, The Old Régime in Canada, Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV.*, and *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (2 volumes); H. H. Miles, *History of Canada Under French Régime*; A. B. Hurlburt, *Historic Highways of North America* (15 volumes); A. G. Bradley, *Fight with France for North America*; W. C. H. Wood, *The Fight for Canada*; G. D. Warburton, *Conquest of Canada* (2 volumes); J. P. Baxter, *Pioneers of France in New England*; Edouard Richard, *Acadia* (2 volumes); J. G. Bourinot, *Historical and Descriptive Account of Cape Breton*; Beckless Wilson, *The Great Company (The Hudson Bay Company)*; J. R. Simms, *Frontiersmen of New York* (2 vol-

umes); T. J. Chapman, *The French in the Allegheny Valley*; Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*; S. S. Hebbard, *Wisconsin Under French Dominion*; Joseph Wallace, *Illinois and Louisiana Under French Rule*; Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*; H. P. Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France*; C. W. Butterfield, *History of Brule's Discoveries and Explorations, 1610-1636*; A. G. Doughty, *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham* (6 volumes); R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 volumes); C. H. Farnam, *Life of Francis Parkman*.

*English and other Nations, General Works.*—B. R. Anderson, *America Not Discovered by Columbus*; N. L. Beamish, *Discovery of America by the Northmen*; B. F. De Costa, *Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen*; A. M. Reeves, *The Finding of Vineland the Good*; C. F. Slafter, *Voyages of the Northmen to North America*; J. A. Doyle, *The English in America* (3 volumes); H. C. Lodge, *The English Colonies in America*; Edward Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*; G. P. Fisher, *The Colonial Era*; Herbert Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (2 volumes); R. G. Thwaites, *The Colonies*; E. J. Payne, *History of America* (2 volumes); Edmund Burke, *Account of English Settlements in America* (2 volumes); George Chalmers, *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies*, and his *Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies* (2 volumes); E. B. Greene, *The Provincial Governor*; John Oldmixon, *British Empire in America* (2 volumes); Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. I.; H. E. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*; H. R. F. Bourne, *English Seamen under the Tudors*.

*New England.*—J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (4 volumes); John Fiske, *The Beginnings of New*

*England*; C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (2 volumes); Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts* (2 volumes); William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*; E. B. Richman, *Rhode Island, Its Making and Meaning* (2 volumes); E. E. Atwater, *History of the Colony of New Haven to Its Absorption into Connecticut*; John Brown, *The Pilgrim Fathers of New England*; John Winthrop, *History of New England* (2 volumes); W. D. Williamson, *History of Maine* (2 volumes); Jeremy Belknap, *History of New Hampshire* (3 volumes); C. A. Baker, *True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada During the Old French and Indian War*; S. A. Drake, *Border Wars of New England*, and his *Making of New England*; S. G. Drake, *Annals of Witchcraft in New England*; J. A. Goodwin, *The Pilgrim Republic*; G. E. Ellis, *Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*; W. E. Griffis, *The Pilgrims in Their Three Homes, England, Holland, and America*; B. H. Hall, *History of Eastern Vermont to the Close of the Eighteenth Century*; William Hubbard, *General History of New England to 1680*; also *History of the Indian Wars in New England*; G. R. Minot, *Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1748-1765* (2 volumes); Benjamin Trumbull, *Complete History of Connecticut* (2 volumes); W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*; J. N. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation* (2 volumes); C. M. Andrews, *River Towns of Connecticut*; Alexander Johnston, *Connecticut*; G. H. Levermore, *Republic of New Haven*.

*The Middle Colonies.*—John Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America* (2 volumes); W. R. Shepherd, *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania*; William Smith, *History of New York*; Samuel Smith, *History of the Colony of New Jersey*; Robert Proud, *History of Penn-*



*sylvania* (2 volumes); J. R. Broadhead, *History of New York* (2 volumes); W. J. Lamb, *History of the City of New York*; T. Roosevelt, *New York*; W. H. Eager, *History of Pennsylvania*; A. C. Dayton, *Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York*; S. G. Fisher, *The Making of Pennsylvania*; Charles Miner, *History of Wyoming* (Valley); J. O. Raum, *History of New Jersey* (2 volumes); E. H. Roberts, *New York* (2 volumes); F. H. Severance, *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier*; Isaac Sharpless, *A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania* (2 volumes); I. A. Mulford, *A Civil and Political History of New Jersey*.

*The Southern Colonies.*—J. L. Bozman, *History of Maryland* (2 volumes); Bernard Steiner, *Beginnings of Maryland*; J. F. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (3 volumes); E. D. Neil, *Founders of Maryland*; W. H. Browne, *History of Maryland*; N. D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*; John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*; William Stith, *History of Virginia* (covers the period of the London Company); Robert Beverly, *History of Virginia* (extends to Spotswood's administration); E. D. Neil, *History of the Virginia Company of London*; J. D. Burk, *History of Virginia* (4 volumes); Charles Campbell, *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia*; Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States of America*; also his *First Republic in America*; Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*; also his *History of South Carolina under the Royal Government*; W. I. Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina*; W. R. Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province*; F. L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (2 volumes); C. L. Raper, *North Carolina*; W. B. Stevens, *History of Georgia* (2 volumes); C. C. Jones, *History of Georgia* (2 volumes); Edward Arber, *Works of Captain John Smith*.



*Church and State.*—C. F. Adams, *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*; James Corwithen, *History of the Church of England*; S. H. Cobb, *Rise of Religious Liberty in America*; Daniel Neal, *History of the Puritans*; J. S. M. Anderson, *History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (3 volumes); W. S. Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (2 volumes); William Mead, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (2 volumes); A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*; P. E. Laurer, *Church and State in New England*; R. P. Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*; J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England* (2 volumes); I. Backus, *History of New England with Particular Reference to the Baptists*; C. W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft* (2 volumes); Williston Walker, *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*; C. C. Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*.

*Social and Economic Life.*—P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (2 volumes); W. B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England* (2 volumes); Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*; J. H. Fassett, *Colonial Life in New Hampshire*; J. B. Felt, *Customs of New England*; Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements of North America, 1759-60*; Charles Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*; G. P. Fisher, *The Colonial Era*; S. G. Fisher, *Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times*; C. J. Bullock, *Essays on the Monetary History of the United States*; A. McF. Davis, *Currency and Banking in Massachusetts Bay* (American Economic Association Publications, 3d series, Vol. I, No. 4, and Vol. II., No. 2); Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University* (2 volumes); W. L. Kingsley, *Yale College* (2 volumes); G. L. Beer, *Commercial Policy of England toward the Colonies*; Edward Channing, *Naviga-*

*tion Laws*; E. K. Oman, *Industrial History of the United States*.

*Biographies*.—R. Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*; E. Edwards, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*; Julian Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*; G. L. Walker, *Thomas Hooker*; Steele, *Life and Times of William Brewster*; A. P. Marvin, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather*; W. L. Poole, *Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft*; N. A. Chamberlain, *Samuel Sewall and the World He Lived In*; Mrs. N. M. Tiffany, *Samuel E. Sewall, a Memoir*; J. K. Hosmer, *Life of Young Sir Harry Vane*; Romeo Elton, *Life of Roger Williams*; J. D. Knowles, *Memoir of Roger Williams*; J. H. Twichell, *John Winthrop, First Governor of Massachusetts Colony*; R. C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*; A. C. Buell, *Life of Sir William Johnson*; Robert Wright, *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*; T. Clarkson, *Memoir of William Penn* (2 volumes); W. H. Brown, *George and Cecilius Calvert*; H. Bruce, *Life of Oglethorpe*; Southey, *John Hawkins*; Robert Wright, *Life of Major General James Wolfe*.

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.—John Fiske, *The American Revolution* (2 volumes); Sir George Otto Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (3 volumes); H. C. Lodge, *The Story of the Revolution* (2 volumes); S. G. Fisher, *The True History of the Revolution*; W. M. Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*; B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*; C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*; also his *Loyalists in the Revolution*; W. E. H. Lecky, *The American Revolution* (reprinted from Vols. III. and IV. of his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*); G. W. Greene, *Historical View of the Revolution*; also his *German Element in the War of American Independence*; E. J. Lowell, *The Hessians in the Revolution*; C. J. Bullock, *Financial History of the Revo-*

lution; Victor Coffin, *The Quebec Act*; H. Friedenwald, *The Declaration of Independence*; A. L. Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*; L. C. Hatch, *Administration of the American Revolutionary Army*; William Kingsford, *History of Canada* (15 volumes); E. E. Hale, *Franklin in France*; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution*; F. D. Stone, *Invasion of Canada in 1775*; W. H. Trescot, *Diplomacy of the Revolution*; J. A. Woodburn, *Causes of the Revolution*; H. P. Judson, *The Growth of the American Nation*; B. C. Steiner, *Western Maryland in the Revolution*; J. S. Jones, *Defence of the Revolutionary History of North Carolina*; William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution so Far as It Related to North and South Carolina and Virginia*; David Ramsay, *History of the Revolution in South Carolina* (2 volumes); Thomas Jones, *History of New York in the Revolution* (2 volumes); William Gordon, *History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* (4 volumes); Charles Stedman, *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American War* (2 volumes); A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York*; A. E. Ryerson, *Loyalists of America and Their Times*; C. E. Merriam, *History of American Political Theories*; H. B. Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution* (2 volumes); Richard Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston*; J. H. Smith, *Arnold's March From Cambridge to Quebec*; H. P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781*; W. L. Stone, *The Campaign of Burgoyne and the Expedition of St. Leger*; C. K. Bolton, *the Private Soldier under Washington*; John R. Spears, *History of Our Navy, 1775-1797*; C. C. Coffin, *Boys of '76*; Frank Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution*.

*Biographies.*—The biographies of prominent leaders

who took part in the Revolution throw much light on the history of the time. The most important of these are the biographies of *Washington* by H. C. Lodge (2 volumes), by P. L. Ford and by Washington Irving (4 volumes); of *General Nathanael Greene*, by G. W. Greene (3 volumes); of *Benjamin Franklin*, by John T. Morse, J. B. McMaster and Paul Leicester Ford; of *Thomas Jefferson*, by James Schouler, J. T. Morse, James Parton and H. S. Randall; of *John Adams*, by C. F. Adams; of *Benedict Arnold*, by J. N. Arnold; of *General Knox*, by F. S. Drake; of *Alexander Hamilton*, by H. C. Lodge and J. C. Hamilton (each 2 volumes); of *Patrick Henry*, by M. C. Tyler and W. W. Henry; of *Samuel Adams*, by J. K. Hosmer; of *James Otis*, by William Tudor; of *Lafayette* (in the Revolution), by Charlemagne Tower (2 volumes); of *Robert Morris*, by W. G. Sumner and E. P. Oberholtzer; of *Joseph Warren*, by Richard Frothingham; of *John André*, by Winthrop Sargent, and of *Ethan Allen*, by Henry Hall.

Other valuable biographies are Jared Sparks, *Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold* (3 volumes); W. L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant*; John Morley, *Edmund Burke*; J. K. Hosmer, *Life of Thomas Hutchinson, Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*; G. J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*; A. S. McKenzie, *Life of Paul Jones*; Frederick Knapp, *Life of John Kalb, Major General in the Revolutionary Army*; R. H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*; G. H. Moore, *Treason of Charles Lee*; R. H. Lee, *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee*, by his grandson (2 volumes); W. G. Simms, *Life of Francis Marion*; H. A. Muhlenberg, *Life of Major General John Muhlenberg*; M. D. Conway, *Life of Thomas Paine* (2 volumes); I. N. Tarbox, *Life of Israel Putnam*; E. H. Goss, *Life of Colonel Paul Revere* (2 volumes); John Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of In-*



*dependence* (9 volumes); B. J. Lossing, *Life and Times of Philip Schuyler* (2 volumes); F. V. Green, *General Nathanael Greene*; C. J. Stillé, *Major General Anthony Wayne* and *The Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army*.

THE CONFEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTION.—In addition to the general histories mentioned above: John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*; A. B. Hart, *Formation of the Union*; George T. Curtis, *Constitutional History of the United States* (Vol. I.); George Bancroft, *History of the Constitution* (2 volumes); F. N. Thorpe, *Constitutional History of the American People* (3 volumes); A. C. McLaughlin, *The Confederation*; J. R. Tucker, *The Constitution of the United States*, a critical discussion of its genesis, development and interpretation; Timothy Pitkin, *Political and Civil History of the United States* (2 volumes, covering the period 1763-1797); Francis Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (6 volumes); W. G. Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (2 volumes); G. H. Roberts, *The Foreign Commerce of the United States During the Confederation*; E. H. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (4 volumes); J. M. Brown, *The Political Beginnings of Kentucky*; J. M. Green, *The Spanish Conspiracy*; J. A. Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787*; G. R. Minot, *History of the Insurrection in Massachusetts in the Year of 1786, and the Rebellion Consequent Thereon*; C. E. Stevens, *Sources of the Constitution of the United States Considered in Relation to Colonial and English History*; J. F. Jameson, *Essays in Constitutional History of the United States*; F. G. Bates, *Rhode Island and the Formation of the Union*.

THE GROWTH OF THE NATION, 1789-1860.—In addition to the general histories mentioned above: J. W. Burgess,



*The Middle Period*; H. Greeley, *The American Conflict*; T. H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (2 volumes); T. Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*; B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*; W. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*; H. Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power* (3 volumes); W. G. Brown, *The Lower South*; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*; E. E. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*; H. A. Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union*; H. R. Helper, *The Impending Crisis*; B. P. Perley, *Reminiscences*; W. Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*; J. T. Headley, *Second War with England* (2 volumes); C. J. Ingwall, *Historical Sketch of the Second War between the United States and Great Britain* (2 volumes); Binger Hermann, *The Louisiana Purchase and Our Title West of the Rocky Mountains*; S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History*; A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama*, and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the earliest period (2 volumes); R. G. Thwaites, *Afloat on the Ohio*; Justin Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin*; F. A. Ogg, *Opening of the Mississippi*; J. R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*; J. S. Buckingham, *America, Historical, Statistical and Descriptive* (3 volumes); also his *Slave States of America*; F. Byrdsall, *History of the Loco-foco, or Equal Rights Party*; L. B. Chase, *History of the Polk Administration*; Joseph Hodgson, *Cradle of the Confederacy*; D. F. Houston, *Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina*; Horatio King, *Turning on the Light*, a dispassionate survey of President Buchanan's administration from 1860 to its close; Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (2 volumes); T. L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life* (2 volumes); F. L. Olmsted, *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (in 1856); W. R. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*; J. H. Van Evrie, *Negroes and Negro Slavery*; S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and*

*Slavery*; G. W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America* (2 volumes); P. G. Cooke, *Conquest of New Mexico and California*; William Jay, *Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War*; R. F. Burton, *The City of Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California*; W. E. Connelly, *Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory*; H. S. Foote, *Texas and the Texans* (2 volumes); H. R. Helper, *Lord of Gold*; Washington Irving, *Astoria*; Francis Parkman, *The California and Oregon Trail*; William Barrows, *Oregon, the Struggle for Possession*; Franklin Tuthill, *History of California* (gives a good account of the formation of vigilance committees); O. W. Nixon, *How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon*; G. W. Cable, *Creoles of Louisiana*; Thomas Nelson Page, *The Old South*.

*Biographies.*—H. Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*; J. T. Morse, *Life of John Quincy Adams*; D. C. Gilman, *Life of Monroe*; W. G. Sumner, *Life of Jackson*; E. M. Shepard, *Life of Van Buren*; C. Schurz, *Life of Clay*; A. B. Magruder, *Life of Marshall*; H. Adams, *Life of John Randolph*; H. C. Lodge, *Life of Webster*; T. Roosevelt, *Life of Benton*; A. C. McLaughlin, *Life of Cass*; Hermann Von Holst, *Life of Calhoun*; G. T. Curtis, *Life of Buchanan* (2 volumes); W. L. Garrison, *Life of W. L. Garrison*; Nicolay and Hay, *Life of Lincoln*; E. A. Pollard, *Life of Jefferson Davis*; F. Bancroft, *Life of Seward*; J. W. Sheahan, *Life of Stephen A. Douglas*; Moorfield Storey, *Life of Charles Sumner*; Thurlow Weed, autobiography; W. Birney, *Life of J. G. Birney*; J. W. DuBose, *Life of Yancey*; William Jay, *Life of John Jay* (2 volumes); *Life and Times of Frederic Douglass*, by himself; Kate M. Rowland, *Life of George Mason* (2 volumes); Gailard Hunt, *Life of James Madison*; W. C. Rives, *Life and Times of James Madison* (3 volumes); W. W. Henry,

*Patrick Henry* (3 volumes); J. T. Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry* (2 volumes); C. J. Stillé, *Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732-1808*; M. D. Conway, *Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph*; T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan* (2 volumes); E. P. Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris*; Octavius Pickering and C. W. Upham, *Life of Timothy Pickering* (4 volumes); Jared Sparks, *Life of Gouverneur Morris* (3 volumes); Charles Biddle, autobiography; James Parton, *Life and Times of Aaron Burr* (2 volumes); C. R. King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* (6 volumes); C. H. Hunt, *Life of Edward Livingston*; C. C. Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*, by his grandson; Lorenzo Sabine, *Life of Edward Preble*; W. W. Story, *Life and Times of Joseph Story* (2 volumes); A. S. Mackenzie, *Life of Stephen Decatur*; W. L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sa-go-ye-u-at-ha, or Red Jacket*; E. S. Ellis, *Life and Times of Colonel Daniel Boone*; Benjamin Drake, *Life of Tecumseh and of His Brother the Prophet*; S. B. Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*; Ann Mary Coleman, *Life of John J. Crittenden* (2 volumes); J. G. Washington, *Life of Joshua R. Giddings*; O. B. Frothingham, *Theodore Parker*; A. G. Lowell, *Life and Times of Wendell Phillips*; J. D. Shields, *Life and Times of S. S. Prentiss*; T. K. Lothrop, *William Henry Seward*; W. L. Mackenzie, *Life and Times of Martin Van Buren*; A. G. Riddle, *Life of Benjamin Wade*; G. T. Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster* (2 volumes); B. H. Wise, *Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia*; J. S. Jenkins, *Life of Silas Wright*; C. D. Mansfield, *Life of General Winfield Scott*; O. O. Howard, *General Taylor*; John Bigelow, *Memoir of the Life of John Charles Frémont*; A. M. Wilson, *Sam Houston and the War of Independence in Texas*; B. G. Chase, *Lowndes of South Carolina*; L. G. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*.

THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1861-1876.—T. A. Dodge, *Bird's-eye View of the Civil War*; Rossiter Johnson, *The Civil War*; J. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*; H. Greeley, *The American Conflict* (Vol. II.); James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Vol. II.); Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power* (Vol. III.); S. G. Fisher, *Trial of the Constitution*; E. M. Whiting, *War Powers of the Constitution*; E. A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause*; J. S. Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War*; A. H. Stephens, *War Between the States*; H. McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*; J. W. Burgess, *The Civil War and the Constitution* (2 volumes); "The Century War Book," *Battles and Leaders* (4 volumes); J. W. Draper, *History of the Civil War* (3 volumes); E. McPherson, *Political History of the United States During the Rebellion*; Comte de Paris, *Military History of the Civil War* (4 volumes); J. C. Schwab, *Financial History of the Confederacy*; F. Phisterer, *Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States*; F. Moore, *The Rebellion Record*; S. W. Crawford, *The Story of Fort Sumter*; S. S. Cox, *Three Decades*; J. Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary*; F. L. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*; J. C. Ropes, *Story of the Civil War* (2 volumes); W. A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*; Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*; E. B. Andrews, *The United States During the Last Quarter of a Century* (2 volumes); also *History of Our Own Time*; F. N. Thorpe, *Constitutional History of the United States*; E. G. Scott, *Reconstruction During the Civil War in the United States*; H. A. Herbert, *Why the Solid South*; H. W. Grady, *The New South*; George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*; George S. Boutwell, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years* (2 volumes); U. S. Grant, *Memoirs* (2 volumes); P. H. Sheridan, *Memoirs* (2 volumes); W. T. Sherman, *Memoirs*



(2 volumes); John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet* (2 volumes); J. Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*; G. B. McClellan, *My Own Story*; J. D. Long, *The American Navy* (2 volumes); C. A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*; E. McPherson, *History of Reconstruction*; A. Roman, *Military Operations of General Beauregard*; William Allan, *The Army of Northern Virginia in 1862*; also his *History of the Campaign of General T. J. Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Nov. 4, 1861-June 17, 1862*; R. B. Beath, *History of the Grand Army of the Republic*; John Bigelow, *France and the Confederate Navy*; C. B. Boynton, *History of the Navy During the Rebellion* (2 volumes); J. D. Bulloch, *Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe, or How the Confederate Cruisers Were Equipped* (2 volumes); *Campaigns of the Civil War* (13 volumes), by various authors; C. C. Coffin, *Boys of '61*; also his *Drum Beat of the Nation*; J. A. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy*; J. T. Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*; C. J. Stillé, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*; General F. A. Walker, *History of the Second Army Corps in the Army of the Potomac*; J. S. Wise, *End of an Era*; D. M. Dewitt, *Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson*; J. W. Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*; C. E. Chadsey, *The Struggle between President Johnson and Congress over Reconstruction*; J. W. Fertig, *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee*; E. C. Woolley, *Reconstruction in Georgia*; W. L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*; Porter Hollis, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*; J. L. M. Curry, *Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States, with Some Personal Reminiscences*; J. S. Pike, *The Prostrate State, or South Carolina Under Negro Government*; W. M. Bruce, *Alaska, Its History and Resources*; H. W. Elliott, *Our*



*Arctic Province*; Charles Nordhoff, *The Cotton States in 1875*.

*Biographies*.—*Life of Abraham Lincoln*, by John T. Morse (2 volumes), by Ida M. Tarbell (2 volumes), by J. H. Barrett (2 volumes) and by Nicolay and Hay (10 volumes); *Life of Jefferson Davis*, by E. A. Pollard, and *Memoir*, by his wife (2 volumes); *Life of Charles Sumner*, by Moorfield Storey; of *Thaddeus Stevens*, by S. W. McCall; of *E. M. Stanton*, by George C. Gorham; of *R. E. Lee*, by R. E. Lee, Jr.; of “*Stonewall*” *Jackson*, by R. L. Dabney; of *U. S. Grant*, by Adam Badeau; of *S. P. Chase*, by A. B. Hart and J. W. Shuckers; of *Samuel J. Tilden*, by John Bigelow (2 volumes); of *Robert Toombs*, by P. A. Stovall; of *L. Q. C. Lamar*, by Edward Mayes.

Other valuable biographies for this period are: R. M. Johnston and W. H. Brown, *Life of Alexander H. Stephens*; B. P. Poore, *Life and Public Services of A. E. Burnside*; James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*; Loyall Farragut, *Life of David Glasgow Farragut*; J. M. Hopkins, *Life of Andrew H. Foote*; J. A. Wyeth, *Life of General N. B. Forrest*; F. A. Walker, *General Hancock*; G. F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* (2 volumes); B. R. Meade, *Life of General George G. Meade*; W. D. Foulke, *Life of O. P. Morton* (2 volumes); Henry Coppée, *General Thomas*; P. A. Stovall, *Robert Toombs, Statesman, Speaker, Soldier, Sage*; J. T. Vallandigham, *Life of C. L. Vallandigham*; O. J. Hollister, *Life of Schuyler Colfax*; W. M. Cornell, *Life and Public Career of Horace Greeley*; E. Cary, *George William Curtis*; C. F. Adams, *Charles Francis Adams*, by his son.

# INDEX

J. ELLIS BURDICK

## A

- Abbott, Josiah G.: member of the Electoral Commission, IV. 1486, note
- Abercrombie, James: made second in command of British forces in America, I. 314; in expedition against Ticonderoga, I. 322
- Abolition Movement: sentiment of the South, II. 788; opposition to nomination of Clay for Presidency, III. 895; opposition to Mexican War, III. 936; general treatment, III. 968; Webster opposes methods of societies, III. 1018; influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," III. 1062; first movement charged to speeches of Seward and Lincoln, III. 1107; abolition secured by purchase in District of Columbia (1862), III. 1250; abolition secured in Territories (1862), III. 1250; platform of Baltimore Convention, III. 1320; responsible for John Brown's raid, III. 1113
- Abolition Party: organized, III. 980; demands emancipation of slaves in seceded States, III. 1207; joins Free Soil Party, III. 953
- Accessory Transit Company, III. 1045
- Abraham, Plains of: battles of (1759), I. 330; (1760), I. 334
- Abolutism: sought by Holy Alliance, II. 782
- Acadia: in treaty of Ryswick, I. 273; becomes Nova Scotia, I. 277; ceded to English, I. 278; boundary dispute, I. 279, 287
- Acadians: expulsion of I. 308; rejected by New England colonies, I. 310
- Act of 1660; provisions of, I. 344
- Act of 1700: passed, I. 255
- Act of 1744: passed, I. 255
- Act of 1870: passed, IV. 1466
- Adams, Charles Francis: presides over Buffalo Convention, III. 952; protests against building of the *Alabama*, IV. 1440; retires from ministry to England, IV. 1445; in Geneva Commission, IV. 1448; joins liberal movement, IV. 1454; candidate for Presidential nomination (1872), IV. 1455
- Adams, John (1735-1826), President of the United States, 1797-1801; hears Otis's speech against general search warrants, I. 350; defends soldiers accused of Boston Massacre, I. 368; delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 378; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; nominates Washington as commander in chief of army, I. 393; draws up Massachusetts constitution, I. 412; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, I. 417; appointed member of peace commission, II. 518; sent as minister to England, II. 560; attempts to secure loans for the government, II. 564; minister abroad, II. 577; elected Vice President, II. 602, 633; elected President, II. 654; Federalist nominee for President, II. 673; epitomized, II. 829
- Adams, John Quincy (1767-1848), President of the United States, 1825-1829; appointed on peace commission, II. 754; urges renewal of fishery privileges, II. 757; Secretary of State, II. 765; signs treaty for Florida purchase, II. 779; protests to Russia, II. 783; candidate for Presidency, II. 804; defends Jackson from court martial, II. 807;

elected President, II. 811; difficulties of his administration, II. 812; sketch of, II. 813; negotiates commercial treaties, II. 820; political prosecution of, during administration, II. 826; character, II. 827, 829; refuses to attend Jackson's inauguration, II. 842; defends Jackson, II. 860; leader of the Democratic-Republican Party, III. 893; champion of the abolitionists, III. 977; attempts to remove the "gag rule," III. 979

Adams, Samuel: uses his eloquence in favor of rebellion, I. 365; outwits the Governor of Massachusetts, I. 378; delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 378; Gage attempts to arrest, I. 383; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; excepted from amnesty offered by Gage, I. 396; entertains idea of separation from England, I. 409; opposes Constitutional Convention, II. 577; not in favor of the Constitution, II. 597; defeated for Congress, II. 605, 609

African Company, Royal: see Royal African Company

Agriculture: in Connecticut Colony, I. 180; in the New England Colonies, I. 229; in the Middle Colonies, I. 232; in the Southern Colonies, I. 234; resources of the South, III. 1185; in Tennessee, III. 1372

Agriculture, Department of: created, IV. 1493

Aguinaldo, Emilio: leads revolt of Filipinos, IV. 1667; capture, IV. 1676

Ailly, Pierre d': believes Indian Ocean to be an inland sea, I. 38

Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of: I. 285; defects of, I. 287; British claims and, I. 288

Alabama: admitted, II. 776, 790; Georgia cedes to the United States her claims to lands in, II. 818; unrepresented in second Democratic National Convention, II. 883; separated from Georgia, III. 963; delegates withdraw from Democratic Convention, III. 1119; secedes,

III. 1135; Confederates seize Fort Morgan, III. 1139; surrender of Confederate forces in, III. 1345; end of carpet-bag rule, IV. 1424; negro franchise, IV. 1427; yellow fever epidemic, IV. 1501

#### GOVERNORS

William W. Bibb.....	1819-1820
Thomas Bibb.....	1820-1821
Israel Pickens.....	1821-1825
John Murphy.....	1825-1829
Gabriel Moore .....	1829-1831
John Gayle.....	1831-1835
Clement C. Clay.....	1835-1837
Arthur P. Bagby.....	1837-1841
Benjamin Fitzpatrick.....	1841-1845
Joshua L. Martin.....	1845-1847
Reuben Chapman.....	1847-1849
Henry W. Collier.....	1849-1853
John A. Winston.....	1853-1857
Andrew B. Moore .....	1857-1861
John Gill Shorter.....	1861-1863
Thomas H. Watts.....	1863-1865
Lewis E. Parsons (provisional)	1865
Robert M. Patton.....	1865-1868
William H. Smith.....	1868-1870
Robert B. Lindsay.....	1870-1872
David P. Lewis.....	1872-1874
George S. Houston.....	1874-1878
Rufus W. Cobb.....	1878-1882
Edward N. O'Neal.....	1882-1886
Thomas Seay.....	1886-1890
Thomas G. Jones.....	1890-1894
William C. Oates.....	1894-1896
Joseph F. Johnston.....	1896-1900
William J. Samford.....	1900-1901
W. D. Jelks.....	1901-1902

Alabama Claims: controversy, IV. 1440; settlement of, IV. 1446

Alabama Indians: location, I. 13

Alamance: battle of, I. 371

Alamo, The: siege of, III. 916

Alaska: ceded by Russia, IV. 1436; seal fisheries, IV. 1581; boundary dispute, IV. 1690

Albany, New York: settled by Dutch, I. 181; named, I. 185; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; meeting of the Democracy, III. 1349; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1366; Roosevelt resists political corruption in, IV. 1709

- "Albany Regency": in politics, II. 886  
 Albemarle, Duke of (Earl of Clarendon): made Carolina proprietor, I. 134  
 Albemarle, North Carolina: founded, I. 133  
 Albuquerque, Alfonso de: founds the Portuguese empire in the East, I. 41  
 Aleutian Islands: Russian rights in, IV. 1582  
 Aleuts: population, I. 30  
 Alexander VI., Pope: establishes the Line of Demarcation, I. 56  
 Alexandria, Virginia: colonial governors meet at, I. 301; plundered by British, II. 752; Federal troops take possession, III. 1191  
 Algiers: treaty with, II. 642, 692  
 Algiers, Louisiana: fired by Confederates, III. 1225  
 Alger, Russell Alexander: candidate for Presidential nomination, IV. 1561; criticised for use of "embalmed beef," IV. 1663  
 Algonquian Indians: independent of other families, I. 10  
 Algonquin Indians: translation of Bible into their language, I. 174; join in conspiracy of Pontiac, I. 340; hostility of Iroquois, I. 300  
 Alien Acts: Federalists enact, II. 664  
 Allatoona: Johnston falls back to, III. 1307  
 Allegheny River: bounds French claims, I. 288  
 Allen, Charles Herbert: Governor of Porto Rico, IV. 1672  
 Allen, Ethan: captures Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, I. 389  
 "All of Oregon or none": III. 929  
 Altgeld, John P.: pardons anarchists, IV. 1556; protests against Cleveland's sending Federal troops to Chicago, IV. 1613  
 Alton, Illinois: abolition riot, III. 974  
 Alverstone, Lord: in Alaskan boundary commission, IV. 1691  
 Amadas, Philip: explores Virginia, I. 97  
 Ambrister: executed, II. 779  
 Amendments: see Constitution  
 America: first use of the name, I. 64  
 America, North: see North America  
 America, South: see South America  
 American Anti-Slavery Society: organized, III. 973  
 American Colonization Society: founded, III. 967  
 American Literature: development, II. 838  
 American Party, The: see Know-Nothing Party  
 American System: origin, II. 628  
 American Vessels: captured by British and French, II. 714  
 Amerigo Vespucci: see Vespucci, Amerigo  
 Ames, Fisher: in first Congress, II. 605  
 Ames, Oakes: censured by Congress, IV. 1462  
 Amherst, General Jeffrey: at siege of Louisburg, I. 320; made commander in chief of British forces in America, I. 325; captures Crown Point and Ticonderoga, I. 326; captures Montreal, I. 335  
 Amiens, Peace of, II. 695, 711  
 Amusements: in the colonies, I. 267  
 Anarchy: dangers of, discussed in Roosevelt's message, IV. 1685  
 Anderson, Joseph: as delegate to Panama Congress, II. 817  
 Anderson, Major Robert: transfers his force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, III. 1155; refuses to return to Fort Moultrie, III. 1157; refuses to surrender fort, III. 1158; at bombardment of Fort Sumter, III. 1166; surrenders Fort Sumter, III. 1168; sent to organize Kentucky troops, III. 1180  
 André, Major John: capture and death, II. 495  
 Andros, Sir Edmund: assails Connecticut independence, I. 169; Governor of New England, I. 177; vigorous rule of, I. 186; extent of his power, I. 206  
 Anglicans: see Episcopalians  
 Anglo-Saxon Race: prejudice of, toward negro race, IV. 1428  
 Annapolis (Port Royal) Nova Scotia: settled, I. 88; named, I. 277  
 Annapolis, Maryland: interstate commerce commission at, II. 574



Anthracite Coal Strike: account of, IV. 1686

Anti Costi: settlement of, I. 87

Anti-Federalist Party: origin of, II. 596; becomes Republican Party, II. 631

Anti-Masonic Party: cause of, II. 866; holds first convention for Presidential nomination, II. 867; carry Vermont, II. 869

Antietam, Battle of: account of, III. 1248; effect on emancipation, III. 1250; followed by Emancipation Proclamation, III. 1255

Antinomians: name of adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson, I. 172

Anti-Trust Act: account of, IV. 1570

Anville, Duc d': death of, I. 285

Apache Indians: seize herds of the Navajos, I. 20

Apostle to the Indians: see John Eliot

Appomattox Court House: Lee and Grant meet to arrange terms of surrender, III. 1340

Aquidneck: see Rhode Island

Arbuthnot: executed, II. 779

Archdale, John: governor of the Carolinas, I. 135

Architecture: among the Aztecs, I. 10

Argonauts, American, III. 1103

*Argus*, American frigate: captured by *Pelican*, II. 741

Arista, Mariano: demands that Taylor withdraw from disputed territory, III. 934; court-martialed, III. 935

Aristocracy: of the South, III. 988

Aristocratic Class in America, I. 226

Aristotle: believes the earth to be a sphere, I. 37

Arizona: ceded to United States, III. 945; Gadsden Treaty, III. 1066; refused admission, IV. 1689

#### GOVERNORS

John A. Gurley.....1862-1863

John N. Goodwin.....1863-1866

Richard C. McCormick...1866-1869

A. P. K. Safford.....1869-1876

Charles E. G. French....1876-1877

John P. Hoyt.....1877-1878

John C. Frémont.....1878-1882

Frederick A. Tritle.....1882-1885

C. Meyer Zulick.....1885-1889

Lewis Weyley.....1889-1890

John N. Irwin.....1890-1892

Nathan O. Murphy.....1892-1893

Louis C. Hughes.....1893-1897

Benjamin J. Franklin....-1897

Myron H. McCord.....1897-1898

Nathan O. Murphy.....1899-1902

Alexander O. Brodie.....1902—

Arkansas: territorial government, II. 792; delegates withdraw from Democratic Convention, II. 1119; joins Confederacy, III. 1177; reconstructed, III. 1376; Brooks and Baxter struggle in, IV. 1426, note; end of carpet-bag rule, IV. 1427; Presidential election of 1904, IV. 1714

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

James Miller.....1819-1825

George Izard.....1825-1829

John Pope.....1829-1835

William S. Fulton.....1835-1836

#### STATE GOVERNORS

James S. Conway.....1836-1840

Archibald Yell.....1840-1844

Samuel Adams (acting).. 1844

Thomas S. Drew.....1844-1848

John S. Roane.....1848-1852

Elias N. Conway.....1852-1860

Henry M. Rector.....1860-1864

Isaac Murphy.....1864-1868

Powell Clayton.....1868-1871

Ozro A. Hadley (acting)..1871-1872

Elisha Baxter.....1872-1875

Augustus H. Garland....1875-1877

William R. Miller.....1877-1881

Thomas J. Churchill....1881-1883

James H. Berry.....1883-1885

Simon P. Hughes.....1885-1889

James P. Eagle.....1889-1893

William M. Fishback....1893-1895

James P. Clarke.....1895-1897

David W. Jones.....1897-1901

Jeff Davis.....1901—

Arkansas River: Florida boundary, II. 780

Arlington, Lord: receives grant of Virginia with Culpepper, I. 121

Arlington Heights: Federal troops recaptured, III. 1191



- Armada, Spanish: destroyed, I. 100; effect of defeat on Dutch navigation, I. 180
- Armistead, Lewis Addison: wounded in Pickett's charge, III. 1280
- Armstrong, Captain John: captures Kittanning, I. 315; in expedition against Fort Du Quesne, I. 323
- Army: strength of, decreased by Jefferson, II. 691, 715; insufficiency of, in War of 1812, II. 731; in President Roosevelt's message, IV. 1715
- Army of the Cumberland: commanded by Slocum, III. 1329
- Army of the Potomac: commanded by McClellan, III. 1236; demoralized by change of commanders, III. 1274; strength of, when Grant assumed command, III. 1290
- Army of the Tennessee: commanded by Howard, III. 1329
- Army of Virginia: under Pope's command, II. 1244
- Arnold, Benedict: joins American troops at Boston, I. 386; estimate of, I. 401; in expedition against Canada, I. 405; relieves Fort Stanwix, II. 451; quarrels with Gates, II. 452; defeats British at Freeman's Farm, II. 452; at battle of Bemis Heights, II. 454; treason of, II. 493; in English service, II. 501; devastates Connecticut, II. 512
- Aroostook War, III. 911
- Arthur, Chester A. (1830-1886), President of the United States, Sept. 19, 1881-1885: nominated Vice President, IV. 1508; accession to Presidency, IV. 1518; reconstructs cabinet, IV. 1520; candidate for President (1884), IV. 1527; vetoes Chinese bill, IV. 1551; treaty concluded with Nicaragua, IV. 1552.
- Articles of Confederation: adopted, II. 544; rejected, II. 573; defects, II. 579
- Ashburton, Lord: negotiates settlement of Northeast Boundary Dispute, III. 912; refuses to negotiate settlement of Northwest Boundary Dispute, III. 928
- Ashburton Capitulation, III. 912
- Ashley-Cooper, Lord (Earl of Shaftesbury): made Carolina proprietor, I. 134
- Asia: ancient connection with America, I. 3
- Asiatic Squadron: at Hong-Kong, IV. 1651
- Assembly, Colonial: rise of, in executive and legislative power, I. 189; general treatment, I. 210; powers, I. 212
- Astor, John Jacob: one of three early millionaires, II. 835; founds Astoria, III. 928
- Astoria: founded, III. 928
- Athapascan Indians: independent of other families, I. 10; location, I. 13
- Atlanta, Georgia: objective point of Sherman, III. 1290; Sherman's advance on, III. 1304; siege of, III. 1313; political effect of fall of, III. 1322; International Cotton Exposition held at, IV. 1525
- Atlanta Exposition, The, IV. 1626
- Atlantic Ocean: called the Sea of Darkness, I. 38
- Audubon Park, New Orleans: Cotton Centennial held in, IV. 1526
- Augusta, Georgia: important trading post, I. 145; captured by British, II. 486; recaptured by Americans, II. 486, 507; Confederates seize arsenal, III. 1139; threatened by Sherman, III. 1332
- Austin, Moses: receives grant of land in Texas, III. 915
- Austria-Hungary: arbitration treaty of United States with, IV. 1719
- Ayllon, Vasquez de: attempts to conquer and settle Carolina and Virginia, I. 68; death, I. 68
- Aztecs: sketch of, I. 9; turn against Cortes, I. 70

## B

- Babcock, General Orville E.: sent to San Domingo, IV. 1438; member of the "Whisky Ring," IV. 1461
- Bacon, Nathaniel: leads rebellion, I. 121
- Bacon, Roger: believes Indian Ocean to be inclosed, I. 38

- Bacon's Rebellion: see Bacon, Nathaniel
- Badger, George Edmund: opposes Chase's speech on compromise measures, III. 1019
- Baez, Buenaventura: concludes treaty for annexation of San Domingo, IV. 1438
- Bainbridge, William: commands frigate *Constitution*, II. 737; among naval heroes, War of 1812, II. 763
- Baker, Colonel Edward D.: killed in battle of Ball's Bluff, III. 1237
- Balance of Power, American: Calhoun plans for, III. 1014
- Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de: discovers the Pacific, I. 65; death, I. 65
- Baldwin, Abraham: in first Congress II. 606
- Ball's Bluff: Federal defeat at, III. 1237
- Balmaceda, José Manuel: Chilian president, IV. 1579
- Baltimore: British attack, II. 752; population in time of Jackson, II. 835; first national convention for nominating President, II. 867; Democratic Convention (1840), III. 897; Democratic and Whig Conventions (1844), III. 921; Democratic Convention (1848), III. 948; Democratic Convention (1852), III. 1034; Whig Convention (1852), III. 1035; Convention of Constitutional Union Party, III. 1119; Democratic Convention (1860), III. 1124; Sixth Massachusetts attacked by mob, III. 1171; bridges destroyed, III. 1172; placed under military government, III. 1172; Lincoln nominated by convention at, III. 1320; Lincoln's body carried through, IV. 1366; Democratic Convention (1872), IV. 1456
- Baltimore*: crew attacked in Valparaiso, IV. 1580
- Baltimore, Cecilius Calvert, Lord: proprietor of Maryland, I. 126; proprietor of Delaware, I. 190; boundary dispute with Penn, I. 197, 201
- Baltimore, Charles Calvert, Lord, Governor of Maryland, I. 132
- Baltimore, George Calvert, Lord: made Irish peer, I. 125; sketch of, I. 126
- Baltimore and Ohio Railroad: first spike driven, II. 837
- Bancroft, George: in American literature, II. 841
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe: quoted on origin of American Indians, I. 4
- Bank Notes: depreciated character of State Bank issues, II. 877
- Banking System, National: see National Banking System
- Banks, Nathaniel Prentiss: commands Union forces in Shenandoah, III. 1239; takes Port Hudson, III. 1274
- Banks, State: growth of, II. 771
- Baptists: persecuted in New England, I. 253; persecuted in Virginia, I. 256; divide into Northern and Southern wings, III. 1015
- Barbary States: troubles with, II. 573; levy blackmail, II. 692
- Barclay, Commodore: commands British fleet, II. 737
- Barker, Wharton: nominated for President (1900), IV. 1668
- Barlow, Arthur: explores Virginia, I. 97
- Barnburners, III. 948; hold convention at Utica, III. 953
- Barnwell, John: repels Tuscaroras, I. 136
- Barré, Isaac: at siege of Quebec, I. 328
- Bates, Edward: candidate for Presidential nomination (1860), III. 1120; appointed Attorney General, III. 1163
- Baton Rouge: Confederates seize arsenal, III. 1139
- Baum, Colonel: defeated at Bennington, II. 449
- Baxter, Elisha: Governor of Arkansas, IV. 1426, note
- Bay Psalm Books: printed, I. 247
- Bayard, James Asheton: appointed peace commissioner, II. 754
- Bayard, Thomas Francis: in Congress (1869), IV. 1414; member of the Electoral Commission, IV. 1486, note; his influence over Democrats, IV. 1488; Secretary of State, IV. 1541, note; in Samoan dispute, IV.

- 1578; first American ambassador, IV. 1580
- Bayard-Chamberlain Treaty, IV. 1555
- Beaumarchais, Pierre Augustin Caron de: aids Americans, II. 473; death, II. 474
- Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant: at bombardment of Fort Sumter, III. 1165; issues proclamation to Virginians, III. 1191; at battle of Bull Run, III. 1196; advises against attack on Washington, III. 1200; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1216; fails to follow up victory at Pittsburg Landing, III. 1218; succeeded by Bragg, III. 1264
- Beck, James Burnie: elected senator, IV. 1491
- Bedford: member of Constitutional Convention, II. 580
- Bee, Bernard E.: at battle of Bull Run, III. 1198
- Beecher, Henry Ward: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973; opposes Lincoln, III. 1318; opposes election of Blaine (1884), IV. 1534
- Behring Sea: seal fisheries dispute, IV. 1580; British vessels seized in, IV. 1581; terms of settlement of dispute, IV. 1583; Russian seizure of American vessels, IV. 1691
- Béjar: battle of, III. 916
- Belknap, William Worth: impeached, IV. 1461
- Bell, John: opposes Kansas-Nebraska Bill, III. 1059; nominated for President by Constitutional Union Party, III. 1119; joins secessionists, III. 1176
- Bellmont, Earl of: Governor of New York, I. 188; extent of his power, I. 206
- Bellows, Henry Whitney: president of the Sanitary Commission, III. 1360
- Belshazzar's Feast, IV. 1535
- Bemis Heights: battle of, II. 454
- Benezet, Anthony: arouses Quakers against slavery, I. 224
- Benjamin, Judah Philip: Confederate Attorney General, III. 1144
- Bennington: battle of, II. 448
- Benton, Thomas Hart: quoted on J. Q. Adams's administration, II. 813; opposed to Panama Congress, II. 818; quoted on the distribution of public moneys, II. 876; attacks U. S. Bank, II. 871; quoted on settlement of Northwest Boundary dispute, III. 930; opposes Mexican War, III. 946; altercation with Senator Foote, III. 1920; votes against Kansas-Nebraska Bill, III. 1060
- Berkeley, Lord: proprietor of New Jersey, I. 191; sells interest to Quakers, I. 192
- Berkeley, Sir John (Earl of Shaftesbury): made Carolina proprietor, I. 134
- Berkeley, Sir William: Governor of Virginia, I. 118; Charles I. restores, I. 121; Charles II. recalls, I. 122; opposed to printing presses, I. 247
- Berlin: Samoan commission meets at, IV. 1579
- Berlin Decrees: issued, II. 713
- Bernard, Montague: in joint high commission, IV. 1446
- Beverly, Robert: historical writings of, I. 246
- Bible, The: accepted as law in Salem colony, I. 160; constitution of New Haven colony, I. 166; translated into Algonquin, I. 174, 247; slavery contrary to, I. 225; supports slavery, III. 994; place among Lincoln's books, III. 1100; supplied to soldiers by Christian commission, III. 1361
- Bienville, Celeron de: sent to establish French claims, I. 292
- Big Black Ridge: Confederate defeat at, III. 1270
- Big Sunflower River: in Vicksburg campaign, III. 1268
- Bill of Rights: added to Constitution, II. 600
- "Billion Dollar Congress," The: IV. 1575
- Biloxi: French claims of, I. 288
- Biloxi Indians: location, I. 13
- Birney, James Gillespie: nominated for President, III. 953, 980
- Bissell, Wilson S.: Postmaster General, IV. 1600, note
- Black, Jeremiah Sullivan: advises

- Buchanan concerning garrisoning of Southern forts, III. 1147
- Black Eagle, The: see Logan, John A.
- Black Hawk War: account of, II. 878
- Black Warrior affair, III. 1067
- Blackstone, Sir William: his writings source of American Constitution, II. 586
- Bladensburg: American rout at, II. 750
- Blair, Montgomery: appointed Postmaster General, III. 1163
- Blaine, James Gillespie: denounces Republican attitude toward negro suffrage, IV. 1408; member of Congress, IV. 1414; quoted on removal of Sumner, IV. 1440; candidate for President (1876), IV. 1477; opposed to Hayes, IV. 1490; elected senator, IV. 1491; quoted on Lamar's tribute to Sumner, IV. 1492; candidate for Presidential nomination (1880), IV. 1503; compared with Conkling, IV. 1504; in Garfield's Cabinet, IV. 1512; his eulogy of Garfield, IV. 1517; succeeded by Frelinghuysen, IV. 1520; candidate for Presidential nomination (1884), IV. 1527; nominated for President (1884), IV. 1528; defeated for Presidency, IV. 1536; declines nomination (1888), IV. 1561; Speaker of House, IV. 1568; Mafia dispute, IV. 1577; in Chilian dispute, IV. 1580; candidate for Presidential nomination (1892), IV. 1594; effort to abrogate Clayton-Bulwer treaty, IV. 1695
- Blair, Francis Preston: opposes Emancipation Proclamation, III. 1256; leader of Missouri Unionists, III. 1178; in Hampton Roads conference, III. 1335; nominated for Vice President, IV. 1410
- Blair, James: establishes College of William and Mary, I. 241
- Blake, Joseph: Governor of South Carolina, I. 139
- Bland, Richard P.: candidate for Presidential nomination (1896), IV. 1631
- Bland-Allison Law: passed, IV. 1499; repealed, IV. 1574
- Blennerhassett, Harman: in Burr conspiracy, II. 708
- Blockade: question of, ignored in treaty of Ghent, II. 754
- Blockade of Southern Ports: Lincoln announces, III. 1180; causes downfall of the Confederacy, III. 1186
- Blood revenge: among the Indians, I. 23
- Blount, James H.: special commissioner to Hawaii, IV. 1607
- Blue Laws of Connecticut, I. 266
- Blue Lodges: organized, III. 1074
- Blue Ridge: in Shenandoah Valley, III. 1303
- Boabdil: surrenders Granada, I. 51
- Board of Trade: see Lords of Trade and Plantations
- "Body of Liberties": adopted in Salem, I. 160; recognized witchcraft as capital offense, I. 164
- Bogota: Colombian Congress meets at, IV. 1696
- Boies, Horace: candidate for Presidential nomination (1896), IV. 1631
- Bolivar, Simon: South American patriot, II. 814
- Bonaparte, Napoleon: see Napoleon Bonaparte
- Bonhomme Richard*: fight with the *Serapis*, II. 528
- Bonnie Blue Flag, The: sung for the first time, III. 1132
- Book of Mormon, The: created, IV. 1584
- Books: first book printed in America, I. 247; number and kind in the Colonies, I. 248; text-books published in the North, III. 992
- Boonsboro: battle of, III. 1248
- Booth, John Wilkes: assassinates Lincoln, III. 1362
- Borie, A. E.: in Grant's cabinet, IV. 1413
- Boscowen, Edward: besieges Louisburg, I. 319
- Boston: settlement, I. 158; officers for 1690-1691, I. 216; population at outbreak of the Revolution, I. 221; a school established, I. 239; Church of England in, I. 253; tea thrown into harbor, I. 373; other colonies send supplies to, I. 377; siege of, I. 406; population in time of Jackson, II. 835; panic of 1837, II. 888;



- Garrison mobbed, III. 972; New England Anti-Slavery Society organized, III. 973; mob attacks Thompson, III. 974; Fugitive Slave Law disobeyed, III. 1030; anti-slavery mass meeting, III. 1058; fire of 1872, IV. 1471
- Boston Latin School: founded, I. 239
- Boston Massacre, I. 368
- Boston Neck: fortified (1774), I. 382
- Boston *News Letter*: founded, I. 247
- Boston Port Bill: passed, I. 375
- Boudinot, Elias: in first Congress, II. 606
- Boundary Disputes: arising from Louisiana Purchase, II. 700; in the Northwest, II. 777; between Maine and New Brunswick, II. 890; western boundary of Texas, III. 1009; between Alaska and Canada, IV. 1690
- Bouquet, Colonel: in expedition against Fort Du Quesne, I. 328
- Bourbons: restoration of, in Spain, II. 780
- Boutwell, George S.: in Grant's cabinet, IV. 1413
- Bowdoin, James: calls out the militia in Shay's Rebellion, II. 567; member of Massachusetts ratifying convention, II. 597
- Bowie, James: at battle of Mission Conception, III. 916; death, III. 916
- Bowling Green: Confederates hold, III. 1207; Confederates abandon, III. 1212
- Boxer Outrages, IV. 1681
- Boyd, General: captures Fort George, II. 746
- Braddock, Edward: commands British forces in America, I. 301; defeat of, I. 306
- Bradford, William: elected Governor of Plymouth, I. 153; early Colonial author, I. 245
- Bradley, Joseph P.: member of the electoral commission, IV. 1485
- Bradstreet, John: captures Fort Frontenac, I. 322
- Brady, Thomas Jefferson: implicated in "star route" frauds, IV. 1520
- Bragg, Braxton: at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1216; succeeds Beauregard, III. 1264; blunder at Knoxville, III. 1287; succeeded by Johnston, III. 1289; operations in East Tennessee, III. 1285
- Bragg, Edward Stuyvesant: quoted on popularity of Cleveland, IV. 1533
- Brandywine: battle of, II. 458
- Brant, Joseph: at battle of Oriskany, II. 450; commands at Cherry Valley Massacre, II. 543
- Brazil: Cabral discovers, I. 77
- Breckinridge, John: Jefferson's letter to, regarding Louisiana Purchase, II. 697
- Breckinridge, John Cabell: nominated for Vice President (1857), III. 1082; nominated for President (1860), III. 1125; heavy loss at Stone River, III. 1267
- Breed's Hill: battle of, I. 396
- Brewster, William: leader of Presbyterian refugees, I. 149
- Briar Creek: battle of, II. 487
- Bristow, Benjamin F.: the "Whisky Ring," IV. 1461; candidate for President (1876), IV. 1478
- British East Indian Company: see East India Company, British
- British Guiana: boundary dispute with Venezuela, IV. 1609
- British Sugar Act: see Sugar Act, British
- Brock, Sir Isaac: receives Hull's surrender, II. 732; death, II. 733
- Brooke, Lord: proprietor of Connecticut Colony, I. 166
- Brooke, John R.: military governor of Porto Rico, IV. 1665
- Brookfield: burned in King Philip's War, I. 175
- Brooklyn, New York: election frauds (1884), IV. 1536
- Brooklyn*: in the battle of Santiago, IV. 1657
- Brooks, James: censured by Congress, IV. 1462
- Brooks, Preston Smith: assaults Senator Sumner, III. 1077
- Brown, Albert Gallatin: quoted on the necessity of slavery, III. 994; favors resistance to government, III. 1025



- Brown, Benjamin Gratz: leader of liberal movement in Missouri, IV. 1454; nominated for Vice President (1872), IV. 1456
- Brown, Jacob: victory at Ogdensburg, II. 734; in War of 1812, II. 745; directs campaign on Niagara frontier, II. 749
- Brown, John: aids slaves to escape, III. 1032
- Brown, John, of Ossawatimie: attacks settlers on the Ossawatimie, III. 1079; anti-slavery leaders influence, III. 1107; raid of, III. 1109; convicted and hanged, III. 1113; public sympathy for, III. 1114
- Brown University: founded, I. 240
- Browne, John; sent back to England, I. 159
- Browne, Samuel, sent back to England, I. 159
- Bruinsburg: in Vicksburg campaign, III. 1269
- Bryan, William Jennings: nominated for President (1896), IV. 1632, 1633; influences Democrats to vote for ratification of treaty with Spain, IV. 1661; nominated for President (1900), IV. 1668; protests against gold standard in Democratic platform, IV. 1704; his activity in Democratic Convention (1904), IV. 1705
- Bryant, William Cullen: in American literature, II. 838
- Buchanan, Franklin: commands frigate *Tennessee*, III. 1317; surrenders in Mobile Bay, III. 1317
- Buchanan, James (1791-1868), President of the United States, 1857-1861: candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), III. 1034; letter to Pierce on annexation of Cuba, III. 1042; appointed minister to England, III. 1043; Ostend Manifesto, III. 1047; attends English court in citizen's dress, III. 1063; nominated for Presidency, III. 1081; election, III. 1085; administration, III. 1087; Kansas policy, III. 1124; under Southern influence, III. 1147; speech to Congress (1860), III. 1148; answer to South Carolina commissioner, III. 1159
- "Buck and Breck," III. 1084
- Buckner, Simon Bolivar: at siege of Fort Donelson, III. 1210; surrenders Fort Donelson, III. 1211; nominated for Vice President (1896), IV. 1632
- Buell, Don Carlos: commands forces at Louisville, III. 1209; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1219; sent to Chattanooga, III. 1264; succeeded by Rosecrans, III. 1265
- Buena Vista: battle of, III. 937
- Buffalo: Canadian insurrection aided by volunteers in, II. 891; political convention (1848), III. 952; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1367; Cleveland elected mayor, IV. 1532; McKinley shot during Exposition at, IV. 1683
- Buford, Colonel: attempts to colonize Kansas, III. 1074
- Bull Run: battles of (1861), III. 1195; (1862), III. 1245
- Bulwer, Sir Henry Lytton: negotiates Clayton-Bulwer treaty, III. 1027
- Bulwer-Clayton Treaty: see Clayton-Bulwer Treaty
- Bunau-Varilla, M.: received as minister from Panama, IV. 1698
- Bunker Hill: battle of, I. 396
- Burchard Episode, IV. 1534
- Bureau of Indian Affairs: see Indian Affairs, Bureau of
- Burgesses, House of (Virginia Assembly), first legislature in America, I. 115; condition under Berkeley, I. 121; first summoned, I. 210; opposes Stamp Act, I. 359; appoints a committee of correspondence, I. 372
- Burgoyne, John: arrives at Boston, I. 395; captures Ticonderoga, II. 447; defeated at Freeman's farm, II. 452; surrenders, II. 454
- Burial Customs: among Indians, I. 18
- Burke, Edmund: speech in behalf of rights of colonists, I. 361; favors repeal of Stamp Act, I. 363
- Burlingame, Anson: negotiates treaty with China, IV. 1495

- Burlington: settled, I. 192
- Burnett, David G.: elected president of Texas, III. 917
- Burnside, Ambrose Everett: succeeds McClellan, III. 1250; sketch of, III. 1258; resigns, III. 1260; attacked at Knoxville, III. 1287; orders arrest of Vallandigham, III. 1349
- Burr, Aaron: candidate for Vice President (1792), II. 633; nominated Vice President (1796), II. 653; nominated for Vice President (1800), II. 673; schemes for Presidency, II. 675; nominated governor, II. 703; duel with Hamilton, II. 704; conspiracy of, II. 708
- Butler, Andrew Pickens: Sumner criticises, III. 1077
- Butler, Benjamin Franklin: at battle of Bull Run, III. 1195; takes possession of New Orleans, III. 1227; at Fort Fisher, III. 1335; at trial of President Johnson, III. 1400; nominated for President (1884), IV. 1533
- Butler, John: at massacre of Wyoming Valley, II. 542
- Butler, Pierce: in first Congress, II. 609
- Butler, Walter: permits massacre of Cherry Valley, II. 543
- Byles, Mather: notable divine, I. 239
- Byrd, William: his diary, I. 246

## C

- Cabinet, United States: origin, II. 613
- Cabot, George: member of Massachusetts ratifying convention, II. 597; president of the Hartford Convention, II. 760
- Cabot, John: his first voyage, I. 61; second voyage, I. 61
- Cabot, Sebastian: accompanies his father on his first voyage, I. 61, later career, I. 63
- Cabral: discovers Brazil, I. 77
- Cahokia: in French claims, I. 288
- Calhoun, John Caldwell: in Congress, II. 728; advocates tariff for the South, II. 770; favors internal im-

provements, II. 774; Secretary of War, II. 804; candidate for Vice President, II. 805; compared with Clay, II. 806; feud with Jackson, II. 807; elected Vice President, II. 809; becomes advocate of free trade, II. 822; argues state sovereignty, II. 826; author of doctrine of nullification, II. 858; incurs enmity of Jackson, II. 860; loses renomination for Vice President, II. 867; Secretary of State, III. 919; opposes Mexican War, III. 936, 946; introduces bill for prohibiting circulation of abolition literature, III. 976; quoted on necessity for slavery, III. 994; introduces his famous resolutions, III. 1001; summary of his career, III. 1013; his last speech in Congress, III. 1014; death, III. 1015; refused to recognize anti-slavery senators, III. 1020; advised Mississippi to call a Southern convention, III. 1023

Calicut, India: first European factory founded at, I. 41

California: Sloat and Stockton ordered to seize, III. 936; acquisition of, III. 937; ceded to United States, III. 945; discovery of gold, III. 1001; constitution adopted, III. 1007; recommended for admission, III. 1008; admission proposed in compromise of 1850, III. 1011; admission to the Union, III. 1021; Presidential election of 1856, III. 1086; sends aid to the sanitary commission, III. 1360; question of negro suffrage, IV. 1408; Presidential election of 1868, IV. 1412; influx of Chinese labor, IV. 1496; Kearneyism, IV. 1497; Presidential election of 1880, IV. 1511; furnishes arms to Chilian insurgents, IV. 1580; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1598

## MILITARY AND TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Com. John D. Sloat,  
July 7, 1846-Aug. 7, 1846

Com. Robert F. Stockton,  
 Aug. 17, 1846-Jan., 1847  
 Col. John C. Frémont,  
 Jan., 1847-Mar. 1, 1847  
 Gen. Stephen W. Kearney,  
 Mar. 1, 1847-May 31, 1847  
 Col. Richard B. Mason,  
 May 31, 1847-April 13, 1849  
 Gen. Bennet Riley,  
 April 13, 1849-Dec., 1849

## STATE GOVERNORS

Peter H. Burnett....Dec. 1849-1851  
 John McDougall (acting).....1851-1852  
 John Bigler.....1852-1856  
 J. Neely Johnson.....1856-1858  
 John B. Weller.....1858-1860  
 Milton S. Latham.....1860  
 John G. Downey.....1860-1862  
 Leland Stanford.....1862-1863  
 Frederick F. Low.....1863-1868  
 Henry H. Haight.....1868-1872  
 Newton Booth.....1872-1875  
 William Irving.....1875-1879  
 George C. Perkins.....1879-1883  
 George Stoneman.....1883-1887  
 Washington Bartlett.....1887  
 R. W. Waterman.....1887-1891  
 H. H. Markham.....1891-1895  
 James H. Budd.....1895-1899  
 Henry T. Gage.....1899-1903  
 George C. Pardee.....1903—

Callander: prosecuted, II. 666  
 Calvert, Charles: see Baltimore, Charles  
 Calvert, Lord  
 Calvert, George: see Baltimore, George  
 Calvert, Lord  
 Calvert, Leonard, Governor of Maryland, I. 128  
 Cam, Diogo: explores coast of Africa, I. 41  
 Cambon, M.: Spanish government makes overtures of peace through, IV. 1658  
 Cambridge, Massachusetts: first printing press in America in, I. 247  
 Cambridge Elm, I. 401  
 Camden: battle of (1780), II. 492  
 Camden, Lord: quoted on Colonial rights, I. 363  
 Cameron, Simon: in Republican Convention, III. 1120; Lincoln's Secre-

tary of War, III. 1162; hostile to Hayes, IV. 1490  
 Cameron, James Donald: member of the Senate, IV. 1491; urges Grant for third term, IV. 1503  
 Campaigns, Political: 1840, III. 898; 1845, III. 922; 1852, III. 1037; 1856, III. 1084; 1860, III. 1125; 1866 (Congressional), III. 1391; 1872, IV. 1458; 1884, IV. 1534; 1888, IV. 1563; 1892, IV. 1597; 1896, IV. 1627; 1896, IV. 1633; 1900, IV. 1670; 1904, IV. 1712  
 Campbell, Josiah A. P.: mediator between Lincoln and Southern committee, III. 1164; in Hampton Roads Conference, III. 1336  
 Campbell, William: captures Augusta, Ga., II. 486; at battle of King's Mountain, II. 502  
 Camp Jackson, Missouri: captured by Unionists, III. 1179  
 Campos, Martinez: sent to Cuba, IV. 1613  
 Canada: ceded to England, I. 335; invaded by American troops (1775), I. 402; American sympathy for insurrection, II. 891; fugitive slaves transported to, III. 1109; interferes in seal fisheries regulations, IV. 1581; Alaska boundary dispute, IV. 1690  
 Canals: Erie Canal constructed, II. 835; Ohio Canal constructed, II. 836; Chesapeake and Ohio Canal constructed, II. 837; early negotiations concerning a canal across Isthmus of Panama, III. 1026; Secretary Hay's negotiations for the Panama Canal, IV. 1695  
 Canby, Edward Richard Sprigg: sent against Modoc Indians, IV. 1473; death, IV. 1474  
 Canning, George: opposes intervention of Holy Alliance in South American affairs, II. 782  
 Cannon, Joseph G.: Speaker of the House, IV. 1688; in Republican Convention, 1904, IV. 1701  
 Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio: assassinated, IV. 1644  
 Canton, Ohio: McKinley buried at, IV. 1683

- Cape Briton: retained by French, I. 279; ceded to England, I. 335
- Cape Charles: named, I. 106
- Cape Cod: named, I. 100
- Cape Henry: named, I. 106
- Cape May: named, I. 181
- Cape of Good Hope: doubled, I. 41
- Cape of Storms: see Cape of Good Hope
- Carbonari, The: Ku-Klux-Klan compared to, IV. 1425
- Carleton, Guy: at siege of Quebec, I. 328
- Carlisle, John Griffin: Speaker of House, IV. 1567; Secretary of the Treasury, IV. 1600, note
- Carmichael, William: sent as minister to Spain, II. 481
- Carnegie Steel Company: strike of employees, IV. 1598
- Carolina: named, I. 83; chartered by Charles II., I. 134; significance of history of, I. 142; see also North and South Carolina
- Caroline*: wrecked by Canadian militia, II. 891
- Carpenter, Philo: aids slaves to escape, III. 1032
- Carpenters' Hall: first Continental Congress meets at, I. 378
- "Carpet Baggers": description of, IV. 1416
- Carpet-Bag Governments: in election of 1868, IV. 1412
- Carricks Ford: battle of, III. 1194
- Carroll, Charles: in first Congress, II. 609; last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, II. 837; president of American Colonization Society, III. 968
- Carteret, Sir George: proprietor of the Carolinas, I. 134; proprietor of New Jersey, I. 192
- Cartier, Jacques: searches for the Northwest passage, I. 82
- Carver, John: elected governor by Pilgrims, I. 153
- Casco: attack on, I. 271
- Cass, Lewis: opposes Wilmot Proviso, III. 943; nominated for President (1848), III. 948; candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), III. 1034; objects to phraseology of Kansas-Nebraska Bill, III. 1057; in Buchanan's cabinet, III. 1087
- Castlereagh, Lord: see Stewart, Robert
- Caswell, Colonel Richard: defeats Donald MacDonald, I. 407
- Catawba Indians: location, I. 13; have survived the surrounding tribes, I. 30
- Catherine of Russia: refuses to aid England against American colonies, I. 410
- Catholicism: introduced by French among Indians, I. 91; efforts to convert Indians to, I. 299
- Catholics: arrive in Maryland, I. 128; disagreement with Protestants of Virginia, I. 129; persecution of, affects prosperity of Maryland, I. 133; excluded from Georgia, I. 145; status in Rhode Island, I. 171; persecuted in New England, I. 253; disfranchised in many colonies, I. 254; charged with inciting people of Pennsylvania to join French, I. 255; persecuted in Virginia, I. 256
- Cavaliers: arrival in Virginia, I. 119
- Cavite: captured by Americans, IV. 1652
- Cedar Creek, or Run: battle of Culpeper Court House at, III. 1245; battle of, III. 1304; political effect of victory of, III. 1322
- Cemetery Ridge: at battle of Gettysburg, III. 1277
- Census of 1790, II. 628
- Centennial, The, IV. 1471
- Centerville: Union troops retreat to, III. 1245
- Central America: revolt against Spanish rule, IV. 1642
- Central Pacific Railroad: built, IV. 1470
- Century, Progress of a, IV. 1728
- Cerro Gordo: battle of, III. 938
- Cervera y Topete, Pascual: at Santiago, IV. 1653; taken prisoner, IV. 1657
- Chaffee, Adna Romanza: in Santiago campaign, IV. 1654
- Champion Hill: battle at, III. 1269
- Champlain, Samuel de: explorations of, I. 87; defeats the Iroquois, I. 88;



- resentment of Iroquois over his victory, I. 300
- Champlain, Lake: discovered, I. 88; Nicholson burns fort on, I. 278
- Chancellorsville: battle of, III. 1261; Confederate hopes raised by victory at, III. 1274
- Chandler, Zachariah: refuses to concede election to Tilden (1876), IV. 1482
- Channing, William Ellery: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973
- Chapultepec: storming of, III. 940
- Charles V., Holy Roman Emperor: rewards Cortes, I. 70; his power and motto, I. 77
- Charles VI., Holy Roman Emperor: death, I. 280
- Charles I., King of England: attitude toward Virginia, I. 118; grants charter to Massachusetts Bay Colony, I. 157
- Charles II., King of England: restoration of, I. 120; recalls Berkeley from Virginia, I. 122; gives grant of the Carolinas to favorites, I. 134; grants liberal charter to Rhode Island, I. 170; vacillating policy of, I. 184; his dislike of Quakers, I. 193
- Charles IX., King of France: Carolina named for, I. 84
- Charles, Cape: see Cape Charles
- Charleston, South Carolina: permanently founded, I. 137; polling place of colony, I. 141; teas stored in damp cellars, I. 373; siege of, I. 408; population in time of Jackson, II. 835; President enforces customs collections at, II. 862; ordinance of nullification suspended at, II. 865; abolition literature taken from the mails, III. 975; Democratic National Convention, III. 1117; secession convention, III. 1128; Confederates seize arsenal, III. 1139; United States property seized by State authorities, III. 1157; rejoices over surrender of Fort Sumter, III. 1168; threatened by Sherman, III. 1332; evacuated III. 1334
- Charlestown, Virginia: execution of John Brown at, III. 1113
- Charlotte, North Carolina: Confederates seize United States mint, III. 1140
- Charter Colonies, I. 203
- Charter Oak: story of, I. 118
- Charters, Colonial: The Carolinas, I. 134; Connecticut, I. 178; Georgia, I. 144; Maine, I. 173; Maryland, I. 126; Massachusetts Bay, I. 156; New Hampshire, I. 172; New Jersey, I. 192; New York, I. 186; Pennsylvania, I. 197; Plymouth, I. 150; Rhode Island, I. 170, 178; Virginia, I. 104
- Chartres: in French claims, I. 288
- Chase, Salmon Portland: member of Buffalo Convention (1848), III. 952; speech on compromise measures, III. 1019; writes and signs address against Douglas, III. 1055; answers Douglas's speech (1853), III. 1056; leader of Republican Party, III. 1082; in Republican Convention, III. 1120; Secretary of the Treasury, III. 1162; favored for President, III. 1318; opposes Legal Tender Act, III. 1353, IV. 1468; establishes national banking system, III. 1354; administers oath of office to Johnson, III. 1370; presides over trial of President Johnson, III. 1399; aspires to Presidency, IV. 1409
- Chase, Samuel: impeached, II. 689
- Chatham, William Pitt, Earl of: see Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham
- Chattahoochee River: Sherman crosses, III. 1311; Hood crosses en route for Tennessee, III. 1324
- Chattanooga: battle of Chickamauga near, III. 1285; effect of Confederate loss of, III. 1288; estimated losses in battle around, III. 1288
- Cheeves, Langdon: in Congress, II. 728
- Cherokee Indians: religious beliefs, I. 17; invent a system of writing, I. 22; friendly relations with Oglethorpe, I. 145; Jackson's stand against, II. 849; troubles with



- Georgia, II. 849; removed to Indian Territory, II. 851
- Cherry Valley: massacre of, II. 542
- Cherubusco: battle of, III. 939
- Chesapeake*: attacked by the *Leopard*, II. 716; defeated by the *Shannon*, II. 741
- Chesapeake and Delaware Canal: government aids, II. 774
- Chesapeake and Ohio Canal: constructed, II. 837
- Chester: meeting of first Pennsylvania legislature at (1682), I. 198
- Cheyenne Indians: belong to Algonquin stock, I. 13
- Chicago: its rank in Jackson's time, II. 835; Republican Convention meets, IV. 1120; Democratic National Convention (1864) III. 1321; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1367; Republican Convention (1868), IV. 1407; branch of the Whisky Ring, IV. 1461; fire of 1871, IV. 1470; riots during railroad strikes, IV. 1495; Republican and Democratic conventions (1884), IV. 1527; anarchist riot (1887), IV. 1555; World's Fair, IV. 1584, 1623; Democratic Convention (1892), IV. 1594; the Pullman car strike, IV. 1612; Democratic Convention (1896), IV. 1629; Republican Convention (1904), IV. 1701
- Chickahominy River: operations in Civil War near, III. 1238
- Chickamauga: battle of, III. 1285; Thomas at, III. 1326
- Chickasaw Bayou: Sherman turned back from, III. 1268
- Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis): in French claims, I. 288
- Chickasaw Indians: location, I. 13; Tecumseh seeks alliance of, II. 726; removed to Indian Territory, II. 851
- Chief Justice of the United States: salary, II. 614; John Jay, the first, II. 616
- Chili: revolution of 1891, IV. 1579
- Chilkoot Pass: awarded to United States in Alaskan boundary dispute, IV. 1691
- China: Boxer outrages, IV. 1681
- Chinese: movement against, IV. 1495; immigration restriction in party platforms (1880), IV. 1510
- Chinese Exclusion Act: passed, IV. 1498; campaign of 1888, IV. 1551; reenacted, IV. 1685
- Chippewa: Scott's victory at, II. 749
- Choate, Rufus: makes campaign speeches (1840), III. 899; quoted on influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," III. 1062; his influence in election (1856), III. 1087
- Choctaw Indians: location, I. 13; Tecumseh seeks alliance of, II. 726; removed to Indian Territory, II. 851
- Christian Commission, The: work of, III. 1361
- Christianity: introduced into Mexico, I. 70; among the Spanish Indians, I. 79; French attempts to convert Indians, I. 91; conversion of New England Indians, I. 174; resisted by Pohanokets, I. 175; requirement for civil rights in Penn's colony, I. 198
- Church, Benjamin: captures King Philip, I. 176
- Church of England: see Episcopal Church
- Cibola, Seven Cities of: search for, I. 74
- Cienfuegos: blockaded, IV. 1649
- Cincinnati: rank in Jackson's time, II. 835; Democratic Convention (1856), III. 1080; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; Liberal Republican Convention, IV. 1455; branch of the Whisky Ring, IV. 1461; Republican Convention (1876), IV. 1477; Democratic Convention (1880) IV. 1509
- Circuit Courts: created, II. 616
- Civil Rights Act: passed, III. 1389
- Civil Service: under Jefferson, II. 689; reorganized by Jackson, II. 845; reform agitated, IV. 1521; reform under Grant and Hayes, IV. 1522; Pendleton Act passed, IV. 1523; reform under Cleveland, IV. 1618
- Civil War, The: main treatment, III. 1127-1369; slavery controversy, III. 955; election of Lincoln and seces-

- sion of Southern States, III. 1127; comparative resources, III. 1182; first shot fired, III. 1167; first battle at Philippi, III. 1193; surrender of Fort Sumter, III. 1168; campaigns in the West, III. 1202; campaigns in the East, III. 1228; emancipation of slaves, III. 1250, 1256; Vicksburg and Gettysburg campaigns, III. 1264; last years of war, III. 1289; political effects, III. 1322; cost, III. 1355; declared at end, III. 1390; results to negro race, IV. 1428
- Claiborne, William: trouble with Lord Baltimore, I. 129
- Claiborne, William Charles Cole: Governor of Mississippi Territory, II. 694; Governor of Louisiana, II. 699
- Clarendon, Earl of: See Albemarle, Duke of
- Clarendon, George William Frederick, Earl of: unsatisfactory treaty concluded with, IV. 1445
- Clark, Champ: in Democratic Convention (1904), IV. 1703
- Clark, George Rogers: conquers Northwest Territory, II. 568
- Clark, William: expedition of, II. 701
- Clarke, John: settles at Aquidneck, I. 170; secures new charter for Rhode Island, I. 170
- Clay, Cassius M.: joins liberal movement, IV. 1454
- Clay, Clement Claiborne: farewell speech in the Senate, III. 1151
- Clay, Henry: member of Congress, II. 728; appointed on peace commission, II. 754; favors tariff for West, II. 770; views Texas as part of Louisiana Purchase, II. 780; sympathy for South American republics, II. 781; opposes prohibition of slavery in Arkansas, II. 792; compromise proposed by, II. 797; champion of protection, II. 801; sketch of, II. 805; rivalry with Jackson, II. 809; offers tariff compromise, II. 865; nominated for President (1831), II. 867; leader of the Democratic-Republican Party, III. 893; proposed nominee of Whig Party, III. 895; anger at defeat for nomination, III. 896; makes campaign speeches (1840), III. 899; quoted on United States claims to Texas, III. 915; nominated for President (1844), III. 921; son killed at Buena Vista, III. 937; opposes Mexican War, III. 946; candidate for Presidential nomination (1848), III. 950; president of American Colonization Society, III. 968; returns to Congress (1850), III. 1010; proposes compromise measures, III. 1011; his speech in Congress (1850), III. 1012; death, III. 1036; statue in New Orleans, IV. 1576; interest in an isthmian canal, IV. 1692
- Clayton, John Middleton: negotiates Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, III. 1027
- Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, III. 1026; secures coöperation of Great Britain, IV. 1693; annulled, IV. 1695
- Cleburne, Patrick R.: death, III. 1326
- Clergy: influences in New England, I. 238; influences of, I. 249; of the Southern Colonies, I. 256; made subject to laws in Virginia, I. 259; salaries paid in tobacco in Virginia, I. 260
- Cleveland, Grover: (1837—), President of the United States, 1885-1889, 1893-1897; early life, IV. 1531; nominated for President (1884), IV. 1531; inauguration (1885), IV. 1538; civil service reform, IV. 1541; uses his veto power, IV. 1543; refuses to sign Chinese Exclusion Act, IV. 1551; refuses to submit treaty with Nicaragua to Senate, IV. 1552; defeated on tariff issue, IV. 1558; second nomination unanimous, IV. 1560; nominated for President (1892), IV. 1594; second inauguration, IV. 1600; recommends repeal of Sherman Silver Law, IV. 1601; complications with Hawaii, IV. 1607; the Venezuelan affair, IV. 1609; subdues strike in Chicago, IV. 1613; financial depression of 1894, IV. 1616; checkmated by Republican Congress, IV. 1618; civil service reform, IV. 1618; at the opening of the World's Fair, IV.

- 1624; his message to Congress concerning Cuban question, IV. 1613; withdraws Nicaraguan treaty, IV. 1693
- Cleveland, Ohio: Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; Frémont nominated by convention at, III. 1320; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1367; Garfield buried in, IV. 1517
- Cliff-dwellers: description, I. 20
- Clifford, Nathan: member of the electoral commission, IV. 1486, note
- Clinch, Colonel: in East Florida, II. 779
- Clinton, DeWitt: defeated for President, II. 764; Erie Canal projected by, II. 836
- Clinton, George (d. 1761): appoints Johnson Colonel of Six Nations, I. 300
- Clinton, George (1739-1812): Governor of New York, II. 562; member of New York ratification convention, II. 598; receives Washington in New York, II. 605; absence from first Congress, II. 609; candidate for Vice President, II. 633; nominated for Vice President, II. 703; elected Vice President, II. 704; nominated Vice President, II. 721
- Clinton, Sir Henry: arrives at Boston, I. 395; sent to take possession of the Southern colonies, I. 407; captures Charleston, II. 488; succeeds Howe, II. 464; at battle of Monmouth, II. 465; sends Arnold to devastate Connecticut, II. 512
- Clinton, Mississippi: race riot at, IV. 1426, note
- Clymer, George: in first Congress, II. 606
- Coahuila, Mexico: united with Texas, III. 915
- Cobb, Howell: elected Speaker of House, III. 1008; influence over President, III. 1147; resigns from cabinet, III. 1158
- Cobb, Thomas R. R.: death at Marye's Heights, III. 1260
- Cockburn, Sir Alexander: in Geneva commission, IV. 1448
- Cod, Cape: see Cape Cod.
- Coddington, William: settles at Aquidneck, I. 170; founds Newport, I. 170
- Codex Flatoensis, I. 31
- Coffin, Levi: aids slaves to escape, III. 1032; president of the underground railroad, III. 1032
- Cohabitation Act: passed, I. 267
- Cold Harbor: battle of Gaines Mills near, III. 1242; battle of, III. 1296; political effect of disaster, III. 1322
- Colfax, Schuyler: nominated Vice President, IV. 1407
- Coligny, Gaspard de: sends out a colony, I. 83
- Colon: northern terminus Panama Canal, IV. 1693
- Colonial Congress: meets at New York (1690), I. 271
- Colonies, American: classification of, I. 203; government of, I. 205
- Colorado: the Grand Cañon discovered, I. 75; effect of Missouri Compromise, II. 797; part of, ceded to United States, III. 945; Northwest Territory includes part of, III. 1051; discovery of gold, IV. 1469; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1599; Presidential election of 1900, IV. 1671; Presidential election of 1904, IV. 1714

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

William Gilpin .....	1861-1862
John Evans .....	1862-1865
Alexander Cummings.....	1865-1867
A. Cameron Hunt.....	1867-1869
Edward M. McCook.....	1869-1873
Samuel H. Elbert.....	1873-1874
John L. Routt.....	1874-1876

## STATE GOVERNORS

John L. Routt.....	1876-Jan. 1879
Frederick W. Pitkin.....	1879-1883
James B. Grant.....	1883-1885
Benjamin H. Eaton.....	1885-1887
Alva Adams.....	1887-1889
Job A. Cooper.....	1889-1891
John L. Routt.....	1891-1893
Davis H. Waite.....	1893-1895
Albert W. McIntyre.....	1895-1897

- Alva Adams.....1897-1899  
 Chas. A. Thomas.....1899-1901  
 James B. Orman.....1901-1903  
 Joseph H. Peabody.....1903-1905  
 Jesse F. McDonald.....1905—
- Columbia, District of: see District of Columbia
- Columbia, South Carolina: nullification convention meets at, II. 861; secession convention at, III. 1128; burned, III. 1333
- Columbia River: discovered, III. 928
- Columbia University: founded, I. 240; graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, II. 577
- Columbian Exposition, World's: preparations for, IV. 1584; held in Chicago, IV. 1623
- Columbus, Kentucky: Confederates hold, III. 1207; abandoned by Confederates, III. 1212
- Columbus, Ohio: Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1367
- Columbus, Bartholomew: sails around the Cape of Good Hope, I. 41; presents his brother's schemes to Henry VII. of England, I. 48; accompanies his brother on his second voyage, I. 59
- Columbus, Christopher: early history, I. 42; attempts to present his schemes to Spanish sovereigns, I. 48; his first voyage, I. 52; landing of, I. 54; honored by Ferdinand and Isabella, I. 56; his second voyage, I. 59; third voyage, I. 59; sent to Spain in chains, I. 60; fourth voyage, I. 60; death, I. 61
- Commerce and Trade: Henry VII. places first restriction on, I. 61; in the Spanish-American colonies, I. 80; hampered in New France, I. 92; policy of England toward Virginia colonists, I. 123; importance in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, I. 180; colonies and the West Indies, I. 229; treaties between United States and foreign powers, II. 617; American carriers benefited by Anglo-French war, II. 637; destruction of American commerce in War of 1812, II. 758; considered by Panama Congress, II. 814; interrupted between North and South, III. 1117
- Committee of Correspondence, Secret: appointed by second Continental Congress, I. 410; work of, II. 472; named changed to Committee on Foreign Affairs, II. 472
- Committee on Foreign Affairs: see Committee of Correspondence, Secret
- Committees of Correspondence: I. 372
- "Common Sense": published, I. 245
- Commonwealth, The: effect on Virginia, I. 119
- Communal Houses: found in the Columbia region, I. 19
- Communal System: in Virginia colony, I. 114
- Compact, The: signed by Pilgrims, I. 153
- Compromise of 1850: proposed, III. 1011
- Compromises of the Constitution: representation, II. 581; apportionment of representation, II. 582, III. 961; foreign slave trade, II. 583, III. 962
- Concord: battle of, I. 385
- Confederacy, The: secession of the Southern States, III. 1127; seizes property of United States within seceding States, III. 1136; organized, III. 1140; Montgomery selected as capital, III. 1142; permanent Constitution adopted, III. 1144; preparations for war, III. 1163, 1205; capital transferred to Richmond, III. 1175; enlistment of privateers, III. 1181; strength and resources III. 1182; loss of New Orleans, III. 1226; height of its hopes, III. 1260; effect of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, III. 1283; strength of, opposed to the Army of the Potomac, III. 1290; government removed to Greensboro, III. 1345; disbandment of army, III. 1345; finances, III. 1352; cost of the war, III. 1356; sufferings, III. 1354
- Confederate Flag: adopted, III. 1143
- Confederation, Articles of: see Articles of Confederation.
- Congregational Church: state church in



Massachusetts, I. 179; in every New England town, I. 249; services, I. 250; supported by taxation, I. 254

*Congress*: fires on the *Merrimac*, III. 1228; destroyed, III. 1231

Congress of the Confederacy: powers, III. 1145

Congress of the United States: powers of, II. 586; prohibitions against, in Constitution, II. 587; character of first Congress, II. 605; power to impose conditions in admitting States, II. 791; power over slavery, III. 981; extraordinary session of 1861, III. 1170; denies seats to Southern members, III. 1386; debate on reconstruction, III. 1388; passes Reconstruction Acts, III. 1392

Congresses, The Albany: 1690, I. 188; 1754, I. 298

Congressional Party: in Chili, IV. 1579

Conkling, Roscoe: candidate for Presidential nomination (1876), IV. 1478; opposed to Hayes, IV. 1490; urges nomination of Grant for third term, IV. 1503; feud with Blaine, IV. 1504; sketch of, IV. 1504; opposes appointment of Robertson, IV. 1515; origin of feud with Garfield, IV. 1515; resisted by Arthur, IV. 1520; responsible for Blaine's defeat in New York, IV. 1537

Connecticut: origin, I. 165; colonial constitution of, I. 166; trouble with Dutch, I. 166; trouble with Indians, I. 169; charter secured, I. 169; seeks confederation of New England, I. 173; agriculture, I. 180; Dutch relinquish claims, I. 183; colonial government of, I. 204; educational growth, I. 240; Episcopal Church in, I. 253; Congregational Church supported by taxation, I. 254; wearing of silk forbidden, I. 265; "Blue Laws," I. 266; in Colonial Congress, I. 271; quarrel with Pennsylvania over Wyoming Valley, II. 562; cedes Northwest Territory to the United States, II. 568; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; ratifies the Constitution, II. 597; favors finan-

cial plans of Hamilton, II. 621; in War of 1812, II. 759; Hartford Convention, II. 760; measures toward abolition of slavery adopted, III. 958; abolition societies formed, III. 968; opening of schools to negroes prohibited, III. 973; State election of 1865, III. 1072; Presidential election of 1884, IV. 1536; Presidential election of 1888, IV. 1565; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1598

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

John Haynes.....	1639-1640
Edward Hopkins.....	1640-1641
John Haynes.....	1641-1642
George Wyllys.....	1642-1643
John Haynes.....	1643-1644
Edward Hopkins.....	1644-1645
John Haynes.....	1645-1646
Edward Hopkins.....	1646-1647
John Haynes.....	1647-1648
Edward Hopkins.....	1648-1649
John Haynes.....	1649-1650
Edward Hopkins.....	1650-1651
John Haynes.....	1651-1652
Edward Hopkins.....	1652-1653
John Haynes.....	1653-1654
Edward Hopkins.....	1654-1655
Thomas Wells.....	1655-1656
John Webster.....	1656-1657
John Winthrop.....	1657-1658
Thomas Wells.....	1658-1659
John Winthrop.....	1659-1676
William Lester.....	1676-1683
Robert Treat.....	1683-1698
Fitz John Winthrop.....	1698-1707
Gurdon Saltonstall.....	1707-1724
Joseph Talcott.....	1724-1741
Jonathan Law.....	1741-1750
Roger Wolcott.....	1750-1754
Thomas Fitch.....	1754-1766
William Pitkin.....	1766-1769
Jonathan Trumbull.....	1769-1776

## NEW HAVEN COLONY

Theophilus Eaton.....	1639-1657
Francis Newman.....	1658-1660
William Leete.....	1661-1665

## STATE GOVERNORS

Jonathan Trumbull.....	1776-1784
Matthew Griswold.....	1784-1785



Samuel Huntington.....1785-1796  
 Oliver Wolcott.....1796-1798  
 Jonathan Trumbull.....1798-1809  
 John Treadwell.....1809-1811  
 Roger Griswold.....1811-1813  
 John Cotton Smith.....1813-1818  
 Oliver Wolcott.....1818-1827  
 Gideon Tomlinson.....1827-1831  
 John S. Peters.....1831-1833  
 Henry W. Edwards.....1833-1834  
 Samuel A. Foote.....1834-1835  
 Henry W. Edwards.....1835-1838  
 William W. Ellsworth....1838-1842  
 Chauncey F. Cleveland....1842-1844  
 Roger S. Baldwin.....1844-1846  
 Isaac Toucey.....1846-1847  
 Clark Bissell.....1847-1849  
 Joseph Trumbull.....1849-1850  
 Thomas H. Seymour.....1850-1853  
 C. H. Pond (acting).....1853-1854  
 Henry Dutton.....1854-1855  
 William T. Minor.....1855-1857  
 Alexander H. Holley.....1857-1858  
 William A. Buckingham...1858-1866  
 Joseph R. Hawley.....1866-1867  
 James E. English.....1867-1869  
 Marshall Jewell.....1869-1870  
 James E. English.....1870-1871  
 Marshall Jewell.....1871-1873  
 Charles R. Ingersoll.....1873-1877  
 Richard D. Hubbard.....1877-1879  
 Charles B. Andrews.....1879-1881  
 Hobart B. Bigelow.....1881-1883  
 Thomas M. Waller.....1883-1885  
 Henry B. Harrison.....1885-1887  
 P. C. Lounsbury.....1887-1889  
 Morgan G. Bulkeley.....1889-1893  
 Luzon B. Morris.....1893-1895  
 O. Vincent Coffin.....1895-1897  
 Lorrin A. Cooke.....1897-1899  
 George E. Lounsbury....1899-1900  
 George P. McLean.....1901-1903  
 Abiram Chamberlain.....1903-1905  
 Henry Roberts .....1905—

Constantinople: captured by the Turks,  
 I. 36

*Constellation*: built, II. 662

*Constitution*: built, II. 662; one of the  
 largest boats in the navy, II. 732;  
 destroys the *Guerriere*, II. 734; de-  
 stroys the *Java*, II. 737; Jackson's  
 carriage built of wood from, II. 886

Constitution, The: framing, II. 578;  
 sources, II. 586; supremacy, II.  
 588; ratified, II. 595; success of,  
 II. 600; eleventh amendment rati-  
 fied, II. 671; strict construction of,  
 favored by Jefferson, II. 698;  
 twelfth amendment, II. 707;  
 amendments proposed by the Hart-  
 ford Convention, II. 761; no power  
 over slavery, II. 790; does not fol-  
 low flag, III. 1001; negro citizen-  
 ship under, III. 1091; adopted with  
 changes by Confederacy, III. 1140;  
 fourteenth amendment, III. 1358;  
 provides a safeguard against the  
 dangers of an interregnum, III.  
 1370; thirteenth amendment, III.  
 1385; fourteenth amendment, III.  
 1389; fifteenth amendment, III.  
 1390; Grant urges fifteenth amend-  
 ment, IV. 1412; the fifteenth amend-  
 ment in the South, IV. 1425; limits  
 power of Congress over trade and  
 commerce, IV. 1571

Constitutional Convention: origin, II.  
 573; delegates chosen, II. 575; dis-  
 tinguished character of, II. 577;  
 struggle over slavery question, III.  
 961

Constitutional Union Party: see Demo-  
 cratic Party (Northern).

Continental Congress, First: proposed,  
 I. 377; meets at Philadelphia, I.  
 378; acts of, I. 380

Continental Congress, Second: meets in  
 Philadelphia, I. 391; appoints  
 George Washington commander-in-  
 chief of the army, I. 393; recom-  
 mends the adoption of constitutions  
 by the colonies, I. 411; orders Fort  
 Washington to be held, II. 431;  
 recommends non-importation of  
 slaves, III. 956

Contreras: battle of, III. 939

Conway, Henry Seymour: favors re-  
 peal of Stamp Act, I. 363

Conway, Thomas: leader of Conway  
 Cabal, II. 462

Conway Cabal: attempts to secure re-  
 moval of Washington, II. 462

Conyngham, Gustavus: naval exploits  
 of, II. 527

Cooke & Co., Jay: failure of, IV. 1463

- Cooper, James Fenimore: in American literature, II. 838
- Cooper, Peter: nominated for President (1876), IV. 1482
- Cooper Union, New York: Lincoln's speech at, III. 1123
- Corinth, Mississippi: Federals capture, III. 1220; Halleck's victory at (May, 1862), III. 1244; battle of (Oct. 3-4, 1862), III. 1265
- Cornbury, Viscount: see Hyde, Edward.
- Corning, Erastus: opposes Lincoln's action in Vallandigham case, III. 1349
- Cornwallis, Charles: attempts to capture Washington at Trenton, II. 440; quoted on Washington's victory, II. 444; at battle of Brandywine, II. 458; captures Philadelphia, II. 459; at battle of Monmouth, II. 466; at capture of Charleston, II. 488; at battle of Guilford Court House, II. 506; retreats to Yorktown, II. 508; surrenders, II. 512; centennial of surrender celebrated, IV. 1525
- Coronado, Vasquez: searches for the Seven Cities of Cibola, I. 74; discovers the Grand Cañon of Colorado, I. 75
- Corporation colonies, I. 203
- Corregan, Charles H.: Socialist Labor nominee for Presidency, IV. 1707
- Correspondence, Committees of: see Committees of Correspondence
- Cortelyou, George Bruce: made head of Department of Commerce and Labor, IV. 1687; Parker's attack on, IV. 1713
- Cortes, Ferdinand: his conquest of Mexico, I. 68; Charles V. rewards, I. 70; searches for the Seven Cities of Cibola, I. 74
- Corwin, Thomas: makes campaign speeches (1840), III. 899
- Cosa, Juan de la: with Columbus on his first voyage, I. 53, note
- Cosby, Governor: consequences of suit of, I. 189
- Cotton, John: in Salem colony, I. 162; opposed to Hooker, I. 165; aids the founding of Boston Latin School, I. 239; early colonial author, I. 245; quoted on religious toleration, I. 253
- Cotton Industry: in the Southern colonies, I. 234; growth of, during War of 1812, II. 767; effect of tariff on, II. 770; invention of the cotton gin, II. 789, III. 960; dependency of the Confederacy on cotton exports, III. 1185
- Cotton Boll Weevil: appropriation for extermination of, IV. 1689
- Cotton Centennial: held at New Orleans, IV. 1526
- Council for New England: makes Connecticut grant, I. 166
- Council of the Indies: see Indies, Council of the
- Countess of Scarborough*: fight with the *Pallas*, II. 528
- County, Southern: unit of representation, I. 216; officers of, I. 217
- Court, Supreme: see Supreme Court
- Courts, Circuit: see Circuit Courts
- Courts, District: see District Courts
- Cowpens: battle of, II. 504
- Cox, Jacob Dolson: in Grant's Cabinet, IV. 1413
- Coxey, Jacob S.: leads army of unemployed to Washington, IV. 1615
- Crandall, Prudence: imprisoned, III. 973
- Craven, Charles: Governor of South Carolina, I. 139
- Crawford, Surgeon Samuel W.: quoted on bombardment of Fort Sumter, III. 1166
- Crawford, William Harris: candidate for Presidency, II. 804; defeated for Presidency, II. 809
- Crazy Horse: leader of Indian war, IV. 1475
- Credit Mobilier*: scandal concerning, IV. 1462; Garfield blamed for complicity in, IV. 1511
- Creek Indians: location, I. 13; Tecumseh seeks alliance of, II. 727; Jackson's expedition against, II. 752; defeat at Horse Shoe Bend, II. 806; treaty with, II. 819; removed to Indian Territory, II. 851
- Creswell, J. A. J.: in Grant's Cabinet, IV. 1413
- Crime of '73, IV. 1466

Criminals: treaty with Great Britain for extradition of, III. 912  
 "Crisis": published, I. 245  
 Crisp, Charles Frederick: Speaker of the House, IV. 1602  
 Crittenden, Colonel: death, III. 1044  
 Crittenden, John Jordan: quoted on Clay's farewell address, III. 1011; proposes a slavery compromise (1860), III. 1152  
 Crockett, Davy: death, III. 916  
 Cromwell, Oliver: restores Maryland to Lord Baltimore, I. 131  
 Crook, George: in expedition against Sitting Bull, IV. 1475  
 Crown Point: expedition planned against, I. 301; captured by English, I. 327; captured by Ethan Allen, I. 390  
 Crusades, The: summary of, I. 35  
 Cuba: discovered, I. 55; Treaty of Paris, I. 336; Pierce on annexation of, III. 1042; Buchanan desires annexation of, III. 1087; purchase recommended by Buchanan, III. 1108; insurrection of 1868-1878, IV. 1451, 1642; insurrection of 1895, IV. 1642; under protection of the United States, IV. 1661, 1678; first general election, IV. 1679; reciprocity treaty with the United States, IV. 1688  
 Cullom, Shelby Moore: investigates charges against the railways, IV. 1549; chairman Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, IV. 1719  
 Culpeper, Lord Thomas: receives grant of Virginia with Arlington, I. 121; governor of colony, I. 122  
 Culpeper Court House: battle of, III. 1245  
 Culp's Hill: in battle of Gettysburg, III. 1277  
 Cumberland: fires on the *Merrimac*, III. 1228  
 Cumberland, William Augustus, Duke of: names fort, I. 302  
 Cumberland Road: building of, II. 773  
 Cummings Point: battery opens fire on Fort Sumter, III. 1167  
 Currency: tobacco used in Virginia colony, I. 234; system of decimal currency established, II. 572; craze

for paper money, II. 573; Hamilton's views on, II. 620; Hamilton's plan for a national mint, II. 626; adoption of a gold and silver standard, II. 627; deranged by War of 1812, II. 770; national banking system established, III. 1355; in plat-forms of 1868, IV. 1411; resumption policy, IV. 1465; the Bland-Allison law, IV. 1499; attitude of Democratic Convention (1904) toward gold standard, IV. 1704  
 Curtis, Benjamin Robbins: dissents from Taney decision, III. 1091  
 Curtis, George William: joins liberal movement, IV. 1454; refuses to support Blaine's nomination, IV. 1529; opposes election of Blaine (1884), IV. 1534  
 Cushing, Caleb: Attorney General, III. 1042; counsel in Geneva Commission, IV. 1448  
 Custer, George Armstrong: in expedition against Sitting Bull, IV. 1475  
 Cutler, Manasseh: plans government for Northwest Territory, II. 571  
 Czolgosz, Leon: President McKinley shot by, IV. 1683

## D

Dacres, Captain: commands *Guerriere*, II. 734  
 Dahlgren, John Adolf: commands Federal fleet, III. 1330  
 d'Ailly, Pierre: see Ailly, Pierre d'  
 Dakotas, The: effects of the Missouri Compromise, II. 797  
 Dale, Richard: commands squadron, II. 693  
 Dale, Sir Thomas: Governor of Virginia, I. 113  
 Dallas, Alexander James: Secretary of the Treasury, II. 771  
 Dallas, George Mifflin: nominated for Vice President, III. 922; hung in effigy, III. 947  
 Dana, Francis: sent as minister to Russia, II. 478  
 Dane, Nathan: supports plan of government for Northwest Territory, II. 571; opposes ratification of the Constitution, II. 595

- Daniel, John Warwick: chairman of Democratic Convention (1896), IV. 1629
- Dare, Virginia: first English child born in America, I. 98
- Dark Horse: Polk first, III. 922
- Darkness, Sea of: see Atlantic Ocean
- Dartmouth College: founded, I. 240; Supreme Court decision on, II. 773; Amos Kendall a graduate from, II. 848
- Davenport, John: founds New Haven, I. 166
- Davila, Pedrarias: puts Balboa to death, I. 65
- Davie, William R.: appointed envoy, II. 664
- Davis, Charles Henry: captures Memphis, III. 1221
- Davis, Cushman Kellogg: member of Spanish-American peace commission, IV. 1658
- Davis, David: joins liberal movement, IV. 1454; candidate for Presidential nomination (1872), IV. 1456; proposed for a member of the electoral commission, IV. 1486; member of the Senate, IV. 1491
- Davis, George Whitefield: military governor of Porto Rico, IV. 1665; arranges judicial system and various departments for Porto Rico, IV. 1671
- Davis, Henry Gassaway: nominated for Vice President, IV. 1705
- Davis, Henry Winter: protests against Lincoln's actions, III. 1381
- Davis, Jefferson: in Mexican War, III. 947; quoted on the righteousness of slavery, III. 995; opposes compromise of 1850, III. 1020; heads protest against admission of California, III. 1022; Secretary of War, III. 1042; Lincoln sworn into volunteer service by, III. 1101; denounces John Brown's raid, III. 1114; his resolutions on slavery question, III. 1117; parting address in Congress, III. 1136; earlier career, III. 1140; elected president of Confederacy, III. 1140; inaugurated, III. 1143; quoted on grievances of the South, III. 1151; votes against Crittenden's compromise measure, III. 1153; message concerning conduct of government at Washington toward commissioners, III. 1165; calls for troops, III. 1173; his prophesy, III. 1274; rejoices over secession of Virginia, III. 1174; quoted on motives of Confederacy, III. 1184; orders Johnston to aid Beauregard at Bull Run, III. 1197; favors an advance on Washington after battle of Bull Run, III. 1200; refuses to remove A. S. Johnston from command, III. 1212; removes J. E. Johnston from his command, III. 1311; plans new campaigns with Hood, III. 1323; in Hampton Roads Conference, III. 1336; receives news of fall of Richmond, III. 1337; flight from Richmond, III. 1344; Greeley signs bail bond of, IV. 1458
- Davis, Jefferson C.: captures Modoc band, IV. 1474
- Davis, Reuben: secessionist leader, III. 1153
- Dawes, Henry Laurens: supports Hayes, IV. 1490
- Day, William Rufus: member of Spanish-American peace commission, IV. 1658
- Dayton, William Lewis: nominated for Vice President (1856), III. 1083; in Republican Convention, III. 1120
- Deane, Silas: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; sent to France to procure supplies for the army, I. 410; sent to Europe, II. 472; commissioned as minister to France, II. 474; signs Treaty of Versailles, II. 477
- Dearborn, Henry: Secretary of War, II. 685
- Debs, Eugene Victor: arrested, IV. 1613; nominated for President by Social Democratic Party, IV. 1707
- Decatur, Stephen (1751-1808): commands squadron, II. 662
- Decatur, Stephen (1779-1820): commands frigate *United States*, II. 737; among naval heroes of War of 1812, II. 763
- Decatur, Illinois: Lincoln nominated by State Convention at, III. 1123



Decisions of the Supreme Court: see  
Supreme Court Decisions

Declaration of Independence: main  
treatment, I. 409; advocated, I.  
412; adopted, I. 418; its reception  
among the people, I. 418; written  
by Jefferson, II. 676; first draft  
contained slavery clause, III. 957

Declaration of Rights: drawn up by  
American colonies, I. 360; issued  
by first Continental Congress, I.  
379

Declaration of Secession, South Caro-  
lina, III. 1129

Declaratory Act: passed, I. 363

Deer Creek: in Vicksburg campaign,  
III. 1268

Deerfield: burned in King Philip's War,  
I. 175; attacked in the French and  
Indian War, I. 275

Delaware: first settlements, I. 190;  
joined to Pennsylvania, I. 191; Penn  
grants separate legislature, I. 201;  
statistics at outbreak of Revolution,  
I. 219; status of society at out-  
break of the Revolution, I. 228;  
land of Quakers and Lutherans, I.  
255; refuses to surrender power of  
regulating commerce, II. 561; pro-  
duce from, taxed by Pennsylvania,  
II. 562; fails to pay her share  
of national government expenses  
(1781), II. 563; chooses delegates  
for Constitutional Convention, II.  
575; ratifies the Constitution, II.  
596; opposes Lincoln's reelection,  
III. 1323; Presidential election  
(1868), IV. 1412; Presidential elec-  
tion (1892), IV. 1598; Presidential  
election (1896), IV. 1636

#### COLONIAL GOVERNORS

Peter Minuet.....1638-1640  
Peter Hollender.....1640-1642  
Johan Printz.....1642-1652  
Johan Pappegoia.....1652-1654  
Johan C. Rising.....1654-1655  
Peter Stuyvesant.....1655-1664  
From 1664 to 1682, under the gov-  
ernment of New York; from  
1683 to 1773, under the govern-  
ment of Pennsylvania

#### STATE GOVERNORS

John McKinley.....1776-1777  
Cæsar Rodney.....1777-1781  
John Dickinson.....1781-1783  
John Cook.....1783  
Nicholas Van Dyke.....1783-1786  
Thomas Collins.....1786-1789  
Joshua Clayton.....1789-1796  
Gunning Bedford.....1796-1797  
Daniel Rogers.....1797-1798  
Richard Bassett.....1798-1801  
James Sykes (acting)....1801-1802  
David Hall.....1802-1805  
Nathaniel Mitchell.....1805-1808  
George Truett.....1808-1811  
Joseph Haslett.....1811-1814  
Daniel Rodney.....1814-1817  
John Clarke.....1817-1820  
Jacob Stout (acting)....1820-1821  
John Collins.....1821-1822  
Caleb Rodney (acting)...1822-1823  
Joseph Haslett.....1823-1824  
Samuel Paynter.....1824-1827  
George Poindexter.....1827-1830  
David Hazzard.....1830-1833  
Caleb P. Bennett.....1833-1837  
Cornelius P. Comegys....1837-1840  
William B. Cooper.....1840-1844  
Thomas Stockton.....1844-1846  
Joseph Maul (acting)....1846  
William Temple.....1846-1851  
William Thorp.....1851-1855  
William H. Ross.....1855-1859  
Peter F. Cansey.....1859-1863  
William Burton.....1863-1865  
Gove Saulsbury.....1865-1869  
James Ponder.....1869-1875  
John P. Cochran.....1875-1879  
John W. Hall.....1879-1883  
Charles C. Stockley.....1883-1887  
Benjamin T. Biggs.....1887-1891  
Robert J. Reynolds.....1891-1895  
Joshua H. Marvil\*.....1895  
William T. Watson.....1895-1897  
Ebe W. Tunnell.....1897-1901  
John Hunn.....1901-1905  
Preston Lea.....1905—

Delaware Indians: belong to Algonquin  
stock, I. 13; negotiate with Penn,  
I. 198

\* Died April 8, 1895.



- Delaware River: Walloons settle on, I. 180; Washington crosses, II. 439
- De Lesseps Company: see Lesseps, Ferdinand de
- Demarcation, Line of: established, I. 56; King of France disregards, I. 81
- Democratic Party: origin, II. 764, III. 894; rise of, II. 803; followers of Jackson so named, II. 867; its faith in Jackson, II. 871; second national convention, II. 883; convention at Baltimore (1840), III. 897; pleased with Tyler, III. 909; convention at Baltimore (1844), III. 921; convention at Baltimore (1848), III. 948; convention at Baltimore (1852), III. 1034; convention at Cincinnati (1856), III. 1080; dissension due to Lecompton policy, III. 1097; disruption of Northern and Southern Democrats, III. 1119; convention at Baltimore (1860), III. 1124; national convention (1868), IV. 1409; theories of, sustained by Chief Justice Chase, IV. 1410; regains control in Southern States, IV. 1426, 1512; gains South from carpet-bag rule, IV. 1427; joined by conservative Republicans in South, IV. 1427; convention at Baltimore (1872), IV. 1456; convention at St. Louis (1876), IV. 1480; convention of 1880, IV. 1509; convention at Chicago (1884), IV. 1531; tariff issue of 1888, IV. 1558; platform in 1888, IV. 1562; "land-slide election" of 1890, IV. 1575; convention at Chicago (1892), IV. 1594; platform (1892), IV. 1595; absorb Populists, IV. 1628; convention at Chicago (1896), IV. 1629; platform (1900), IV. 1668; convention of 1904, IV. 1703
- Democratic-Republican Party: assimilates Federalist Party, III. 893
- Democrats, Gold: convention at Indianapolis (1896), IV. 1632
- Democrats, Northern: denounce Emancipation Proclamation, III. 1256
- Denby, Charles: member of the Philippine Commission, IV. 1674
- Denmark: approves cession of St. Thomas, IV. 1438
- Department of Foreign Affairs: see State, Department of
- Department of State: see State, Department of
- Department of the Treasury: see Treasury, Department of the
- Department of War: see War, Department of
- Dependent Pension Bill: vetoed by President Cleveland, IV. 1544; effect on election (1890), IV. 1575
- Depew, Chauncey Mitchell: agitated for Presidency, IV. 1561
- De Soto, Hernando: see Soto, Hernando de
- Detroit: in French claims, I. 288; besieged by Indians, I. 341; given up by England, II. 640; surrendered by Hull, II. 732; Harrison recaptures, II. 745
- Devens, Charles: Attorney General, IV. 1491
- Dewey, George: commands Asiatic Squadron, IV. 1651; at battle of Manila Bay, IV. 1652; member of the Philippine Commission, IV. 1674
- Diaz, Bartholomew: discovers Cape of Good Hope, I. 41
- Dickinson, John: uses his eloquence in favor of rebellion, I. 365; delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; opposes a declaration of independence, I. 417; supposed author of the Articles of Confederation, II. 547
- Diedrich, Admiral von: attempts to send a warship into the harbor of Manila, IV. 1664
- Dieskau, Baron: defeated and mortally wounded, I. 313
- Dingley, Nelson: introduces a tariff bill, IV. 1637
- Dingley Tariff Act, IV. 1638
- Dinwiddie, Robert: claims under Indian treaties, I. 293; sends Washington to warn French fort, I. 293
- Discovery*: carries settlers to Virginia, I. 106
- Dissenters: persecuted by Stuyvesant, I. 183

- District Courts: created, II. 616
- District of Columbia: building of Washington, II. 672; center of domestic slave trade, III. 967; Quakers petition for abolition of slavery in, III. 970; Compromise of 1850 and, III. 1011; slavery abolished, III. 1022
- Dix, John Adams: member of Buffalo Convention (1848), III. 952; telegram to a New Orleans custom officer, III. 1170
- Dixon, Archibald: proposes repeal of Missouri Compromise, III. 1054
- Doctrine of Implied Powers: see Implied Powers, Doctrine of
- Dole, Sanford Ballard; provisional President of Hawaii, IV. 1606
- Dominican Republic: proposed annexation of, IV. 1438
- Donelson, Andrew Jackson: nominated for Vice President (1856), III. 1080
- Dongan, Thomas: yields liberty to people, I. 186
- Dorchester Company: makes settlement at Gloucester, I. 157
- Dorchester Heights: occupied by Washington, I. 406
- Dorsey, Stephen W.: implicated in "star route" frauds, IV. 1521
- Doubleday, Captain: at bombardment of Fort Sumter, III. 1167
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold: candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), III. 1034; introduces a bill for organizing Nebraska, III. 1050; speech in favor of Kansas-Nebraska Bill, III. 1056; introduces bill providing for admission of Kansas, III. 1077; indorses Dred Scott decision, III. 1092; denounces Lecompton scheme, III. 1095; sketch of, III. 1097, 1103; in Lincoln-Douglas debates, III. 1103; favored by North and West for President, III. 1117; nominated for President (1860), III. 1125; supports Lincoln in contest with South, III. 1171; Johnson lays corner stone of monument to, III. 1391
- Douglass, Frederick: leader of negro race, III. 990; aids slaves to escape, III. 1032
- Dove*: brings settlers to Maryland, I. 128
- Dover, New Hampshire: founded, I. 172; attack on, I. 271
- Dow, Neal: Prohibition Party nominee, IV. 1510
- Draft Riots, III. 1350
- Dragon*, The: see Drake, Sir Francis
- Drake, Sir Francis: his buccaneering tour, I. 95; carries colonists from Roanoke Island to England, I. 98; in the war with Spain, I. 100
- Dred Scott Decision: denounced by Republican and Free Soilers, III. 1092; not to be confused with chief justice's opinion, III. 1093; repudiated in Republican platform (1860), III. 1124
- Dress: among the Indians, I. 20; regulated by law in Massachusetts, I. 265; of Washington at inauguration, II. 605; of Jefferson, II. 677; American diplomatic costume, III. 1063
- Drummond, William: first Governor of Albemarle, I. 135
- Duane, William John: resists Jackson, as Secretary of Treasury, II. 873
- Dudley, Thomas: deputy governor under Winthrop, I. 158
- Dueling: practiced in the South, III. 994
- Duke's Laws, The: provision of, I. 186
- Dunbar, Colonel: in Braddock's expedition, I. 305
- Dunmore, Lord: burns Norfolk, I. 407
- Du Quesne, Fort: see Fort Du Quesne
- Du Quesne, Marquis: Governor of Canada, I. 295
- Dutch: seek religious freedom in Maryland, I. 132; emigrations of, from New York to South Carolina, I. 137; conflict with Connecticut settlers, I. 166; as navigators, I. 180; settlements of, I. 180; allied with England against Spain, I. 181; maritime supremacy of, I. 184; claims in Delaware, I. 190; included in Penn's colony, I. 202; large element in New York (1775), I. 219
- Dutch East India Company: see East India Company, Dutch
- Dutch Reformed Church: enforced by

Stuyvesant, I. 183; established in New York, I. 254; disestablished, I. 255

Dustin, Hannah: story of, I. 273

Duties and customs: States surrender power of import tax, II. 620; see also Taxation

Dwight, Theodore, secretary of Hartford Convention, II. 760

## E

Early, Jubal Anderson: defeated at Opequan Creek, III. 1200; sent against Washington, III. 1298; his generalship, III. 1304

East Florida: see Florida

East India Company, British: success of, I. 104; allowed a drawback on tea shipped to the Colonies, I. 372

East India Company, Dutch: Hudson's voyages, I. 180

Eaton, John H.: in Jackson's Cabinet, II. 848

Eaton, Theophilus: founds New Haven, I. 166

Eaton Scandal, The: Jackson's efforts to silence, II. 868

Eden, Charles: Governor of North Carolina, I. 136

Edict of Nantes: effect of revocation on American Colonies, I. 138, 220

Edmunds, George Franklin: in Congress organized 1869, IV. 1414; member of the Electoral Commission, IV. 1486, note; as Presidential nominee (1880), IV. 1503; support transferred to Garfield, IV. 1507; candidate for Presidential nomination (1884), IV. 1528

Edmunds Act: passed, IV. 1586

Edmunds-Tucker Act: passed, IV. 1526

Education: encouraged in Virginia colony, I. 124; in New England colonies, I. 239; courses of study in colonial colleges, I. 242; forbidden Southern slaves, III. 989, among the Southern upper class, III. 992; of negro in South, IV. 1428

Edwards, Jonathan: his reputation, I. 239; his writings, I. 242

Eighth Georgia, The: loss at Gettysburg, III. 1283

Elberon: Garfield removed to, IV. 1517

El Caney: battle of, IV. 1654

Electoral Commission, IV. 1485

Eliot, John: reduces Indian language to writing, I. 22; imprisoned, I. 158; aids in editing of Bay Psalm Book, I. 247; called Apostle to the Indians, I. 174

Elizabeth, Queen of England: encourages English seamen, I. 92; her commercial restriction on colonists, I. 123

Elizabethtown, New Jersey: settled, I. 192; first assembly meets at, I. 192

Elkins Law: character of, IV. 1687

Ellmaker, Amos: nominated for Vice President, II. 867

Ellsworth, Ephraim: Elmer: killed, III. 1191

Ellsworth, Oliver: in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; in first Congress, II. 609; plans organization of national judiciary, II. 615; administers oath to President Adams, II. 654; appointed envoy, II. 664

Emancipation: Frémont declares Missouri slaves free, III. 1207; agitated as a war measure, III. 1250; Confiscation Act (1862), III. 1250; gradual, III. 1250; importuned by delegations, III. 1255

Emancipation Proclamation, The Preliminary: account of, III. 1250

Emancipation Proclamation, Final: issued, III. 1256; Lincoln's justification for, III. 1256; made permanent by thirteenth amendment, III. 1386

Embalmed beef scandal, IV. 1663

Embargo on American shipping, II. 639, 717

Embree, Elihu: publishes first abolition paper in America, III. 971

Emerson, Ralph Waldo: in American literature, II. 838; member of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973

Emigrant-Aid Society: organized, III. 1073

Empire State: see New York

Empire State of the South: see Georgia

Endicott, John: breaks up settlement of Merrymount, I. 154; receives grant from Plymouth Company, I. 156

- Endicott, William Crowinshield: Secretary of War, IV. 1541, note
- Enfant, Major P: plans City of Washington, II. 622
- Enforcement Acts: passed, IV. 1424; decision of Supreme Court respecting, IV. 1427
- England: Northwest boundary dispute, II. 777; opposes intervention in South America, II. 782; Northeast boundary dispute, II. 890; prepares for war with United States (1861), III. 1189; in joint intervention against Mexico, IV. 1430; appoints Behring Sea arbitrators, IV. 1582; Alaskan-Canadian boundary dispute, IV. 1600
- English: claims in Delaware, I. 190; dominate in colonies, I. 219; population of, in French and Indian War, I. 297; attitude toward Indians, I. 299
- English, William H. E.: nominated Vice President, IV. 1510
- English Bill, The: character of, III. 1096
- English East India Company: see East India Company, British
- English Revolution: effect of, in America, I. 270
- Episcopal Church: established in South Carolina, I. 141; in Portsmouth, I. 172; toleration of, after restoration, I. 176; disfranchisement of members, I. 177; befriended by Andros, I. 178; opposed in New England, I. 253; established in New York, I. 255
- Era of Good Feeling: begins with Monroe's election, II. 765; named, II. 804
- Eratosthenes: believes the earth to be a sphere, I. 38
- Ericson, Leif: see Leif Ericson
- Ericsson, John: designer of the *Monitor*, III. 1232
- Erie Canal: increases industrial activity, II. 835
- Erskine, Thomas, Baron Erskine: British minister, II. 725
- Eskimauan Indians: independent of other families, I. 10
- Española: founded, I. 59
- Essex*, American frigate: destroyed, II. 741
- Estaing, Charles Hector, Comte d': bombards Savannah, II. 487
- Ethnology, Bureau of, in Washington: its classification of Indians, I. 10
- Eutaw Springs: battle of, II. 507
- Evangeline: Longfellow, story of, I. 309
- Evarts, William Maxwell: counsel in Geneva Commission, IV. 1448; Secretary of State, IV. 1491
- Everett, Edward: makes campaign speeches (1840), III. 899; nominated for Vice President, III. 1119; supports Lincoln in contest with the South, III. 1171; address at Gettysburg, III. 1283
- Ewell, Richard Stoddard: Confederate commander at Gettysburg, III. 1276; at fall of Richmond, III. 1339
- Excise, Resistance to: see Whisky Rebellion.
- Ezra Church: Hood defeated at, III. 1313

## F

- Fairbanks, Charles Warren: nominated Vice President, IV. 1703
- Fairfax, Lieutenant: in the Trent Affair, III. 1188
- Fairfax, Thomas, Baron Fairfax: employs Washington, I. 294
- Fairmount Park, Philadelphia: scene of Centennial Exposition, IV. 1472
- Faneuil, Peter: engaged in African trade, I. 232
- Fannin, Captain: at battle of Mission Conception, III. 916; captured by Mexicans, III. 916
- Farmers' Alliance Party: in election of 1888, IV. 1562
- Farragut, David Glasgow: opens the lower Mississippi, III. 1221; victory in Mobile Bay, III. 1314; political effect of his victories, III. 1322
- Father of the Constitution: see Madison, James.
- Fava, Baron: Italian ambassador, IV. 1576
- Fayetteville: Confederates seize arsenal, III. 1139
- Federal Bankruptcy Act, IV. 1639



- Federal City: see Washington, D. C.
- Federal Hall, New York City: scene of first Presidential inauguration, II. 605
- Federalist, The: published, II. 596
- Federalist Party: origin of, II. 596; strength in first Congress, II. 609; growth, II. 631; John Adams leader of, II. 653; reach height of power, II. 664; unpopular enactments of, II. 665; New England chief seat of, II. 759; changes ground with Republicans in New England, II. 761; fall of party, II. 762; service to the nation, II. 762; last nomination of, II. 764; absorbed by Whigs, II. 764; change ground with Republicans on bank question, II. 771; end of, II. 803, III. 893
- Ferdinand of Aragon: at war with the Moors, I. 48
- Ferguson, General: at battle of King's Mountain, II. 502
- Feudalism: efforts of Dutch to establish, I. 181
- Few, William: in first Congress, II. 609
- Field, James G.: nominated for Vice President (1892), IV. 1597
- Field, Stephen Johnson: member of the Electoral Commission, IV. 1486; note
- Fielden, Samuel: leader of Chicago anarchists, IV. 1556
- "Fifty-four forty or fight," III. 929
- Fighting Bishop, The: see Polk, General Leonidas
- Fillmore, Millard (1800-1874), President of the United States, July 9, 1850-1853: nominated for Vice President, III. 952; becomes President, III. 1021; issues proclamation concerning execution of Fugitive Slave Law, III. 1030; message to Congress (1851), III. 1033; candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), III. 1036; nominated for President (1856), III. 1080
- Financier of the Revolution: see Morris, Robert
- Finns: as American colonists, I. 220
- "First in war, first in peace and first in hearts of his countrymen," II. 671
- Fish, Hamilton: in Grant's cabinet, IV. 1413; in Joint High Commission, IV. 1446; protests against recognition of Cuban belligerency rights, IV. 1451
- Fisheries: question of, undecided by treaty of Ghent, II. 757; northeast dispute, II. 777; dispute with Russia, II. 782; value of, in Alaska, IV. 1437; dispute settled by Geneva Commission, IV. 1450
- Fisher's Hill: Sheridan's victory at, III. 1303; political effect of victory, III. 1322
- Fishery Industry: in New England, I. 230
- Fitzpatrick, Benjamin: offered nomination for Vice President (1860), III. 1125
- Fitzsimmons, Thomas: in first Congress, II. 606
- Five Forks: battle of, III. 1337
- Five Nations: see Iroquois Indians
- Flag, Confederate: see Confederate Flag
- Fletcher, Benjamin: Governor of New York, I. 188
- Florida: discovered, I. 67; explored by De Soto, I. 76; settlement of St. Augustine, I. 86; boundary of, II. 642; annexation of West Florida, II. 778; troubles in territory of East Florida, II. 778; purchase of, II. 779; increases slave territory, II. 790; delegates withdraw from Democratic Convention, III. 1119; secedes, III. 1135; Confederates seize Forts Barancas and McRae, III. 1139; Confederates seize Pensacola navy yard, III. 1139; end of carpet-bag rule, IV. 1427; Presidential election of 1876, IV. 1483; collapse of the "negro carpet-bag" government, IV. 1490

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Andrew Jackson.....	1821-1822
William P. Duval.....	1822-1834
John H. Eaton.....	1834-1836
Richard K. Call.....	1836-1839
Robert R. Reid.....	1839-1841
Richard K. Call.....	1841-1844
John Branch.....	1844-1845



## STATE GOVERNORS

William D. Moseley.....	1845-1849
Thomas Brown.....	1849-1853
James E. Broome.....	1853-1857
Madison S. Perry.....	1857-1861
John Milton.....	1861-1865
William Marvin.....	1865-1866
David S. Walker.....	1866-1868
Harrison Reed.....	1868-1872
Ossian B. Hart.....	1872-1874
Marcellus L. Stearns.....	1874-1877
George F. Drew.....	1877-1881
William D. Bloxham.....	1881-1885
Edward A. Perry.....	1885-1889
Francis P. Fleming.....	1889-1893
Henry L. Mitchell.....	1893-1897
William D. Bloxham.....	1897-1901
William S. Jennings.....	1901-1905
Nopolen B. Broward.....	1905—

*Florida*: built, IV. 1442

Floyd, John: receives Presidential vote in South Carolina, II. 869

Floyd, John Buchanan: advises against reinforcement of Southern forts, III. 1146; influence over Buchanan, III. 1147; resigns from cabinet III. 1158; at siege of Fort Donelson, III. 1210; escape from Fort Donelson, III. 1211; removed from command, III. 1211

Flying Squadron, The: at Hampton Roads, IV. 1651

Folger, Charles James: in Arthur's cabinet, IV. 1520; candidate for Governor of New York, IV. 1533

Foote, Andrew Hull: at capture of Fort Henry, III. 1209; at siege of Fort Donelson, III. 1210; at capture of Island Number Ten, III. 1220

Foote, Samuel Augustus: resolution affecting public lands, II. 853, III. 1034

Foote, Henry S.: altercation with Senator Benton, III. 1020; elected governor of Mississippi, III. 1025; censured by Mississippi legislature, III. 1025

Foote Resolution, III. 1034

Foraker Act: passed, IV. 1671

Forbes, General: commands expedition against Fort Du Quesne, I. 323; death, I. 324

Force Act of Rhode Island, II. 566

Force Bill: passed, II. 864; obstructive procedure induced by, IV. 1567; account of, IV. 1569; effect on election (1890), IV. 1575

Ford's Theater: scene of Lincoln's assassination, III. 1362

Foreign Affairs, Department of: see State, Department of

Forrest, Nathan Bedford: commands Confederate cavalry, III. 1324; joins the Ku-Klux-Klan, IV. 1424

Fort Barancas, Florida: seized by Confederates, III. 1139

Fort Beau Sejour: captured by Monckton, I. 308

Fort Brown, Texas: seized by Confederates, III. 1139

Fort Caswell, North Carolina: seized by Confederates, III. 1139

Fort Christina: established by Swedes, I. 190

Fort Cumberland: named, I. 302

Fort Dearborn: destroyed by Indians, II. 733

Fort Donelson: Confederates hold, III. 1207; siege of, III. 1209

Fort Du Quesne: erected by French, I. 295; expeditions planned against, I. 301; Braddock's march on, I. 302; captured and name changed to Pittsburg, I. 323

Fort Edward: Americans abandon, II. 448

Fort Erie: given up by England, II. 640; British repulsed at, II. 750

Fort Fisher: importance of capture, III. 1334

Fort Frontenac: captured by English, I. 322

Fort Gaines: guarding Mobile Bay, III. 1317

Fort Gaspereau: captured by Monckton, I. 308

Fort George: capture, II. 746

Fort Harrison: Taylor at, III. 996

Fort Henry: Confederates hold, III. 1207; Federals capture, III. 1209

Fort Jackson, Georgia: seized by Confederates, III. 1139

Fort Jackson, Louisiana: seized by Confederates, III. 1139; Farragut runs

- the fire of, III. 1221; surrenders to Federals, III. 1227
- Fort Johnson, South Carolina: opens fire on Fort Sumter, III. 1167
- Fort le Bœuf: founded, I. 293; reached by Washington, I. 294
- Fort Livingston, Louisiana: seized by Confederates, III. 1139
- Fort McAllister: surrenders to Sherman, III. 1330
- Fort McHenry: bombarded, II. 752
- Fort McRae, Florida: seized by Confederates, III. 1139
- Fort Macon, North Carolina: seized by Confederates, III. 1139
- Fort Meigs: victory at, II. 745
- Fort Mims: destroyed, II. 752
- Fort Morgan, Alabama: seized by Confederates, III. 1139; guarding Mobile Bay, III. 1317
- Fort Moultrie: troops sent to aid collector at, II. 862; Osceola confined in, II. 892; seized by Confederates, III. 1139; dismantled, III. 1155; South Carolina takes possession of, III. 1157
- Fort Nassau: built by Kieft, I. 191
- Fort Necessity: erected by Washington, I. 296
- Fort Niagara: importance of, I. 312
- Fort Orange: see Albany
- Fort Pemberton: Grant turned at, III. 1268
- Fort Pillow: Confederates evacuate, III. 1221
- Fort Pinckney, South Carolina: seized by Confederates, III. 1139
- Fort Pulaski, Georgia: seized by Confederates, III. 1139
- Fort St. Philip, Louisiana: seized by Confederates, III. 1139; Farragut runs the fire of, III. 1221; surrenders to Federals, III. 1227
- Fort Smith: Confederates seize government property at, III. 1178
- Fort Snelling: Dred Scott taken to, III. 1088
- Fort Steadman: Lee assaults, III. 1337
- Fort Stoddert, Alabama: Burr captured at, II. 708
- Fort Sumter, South Carolina: seized by Confederates, III. 1139; cost of building, III. 1146; Major Anderson occupies, III. 1155; women and children removed to New York, III. 1159; bombardment of, III. 1167; surrendered, III. 1168; effect of bombardment on the North, III. 1170; Lee offered Federal command at, III. 1241
- Fort Venango: founded, I. 293
- Fort Wayne: Harmar's defeat at, II. 645
- Fortress Monroe: occupied by General Butler, III. 1197
- Forty-niners, III. 1004
- Foster, Murphy J.: Louisiana governor, IV. 1573
- Fox, Charles: quoted on the battle of Guilford Court House, II. 506
- Fox Indians: belong to Algonquin stock, I. 11; in Black Hawk War, II. 878
- France: rivalry with Great Britain, I. 270; commercial treaty with United States, II. 617; American sympathy for, II. 634; resents attitude of United States, II. 656; interferes for Spain in South America, II. 782; settlement of spoliation claims, II. 880; occupies Mexico, IV. 1430; appoints Behring Sea arbitrator, IV. 1582; in general arbitration treaty, IV. 1691; arbitration treaty with United States, IV. 1719
- Francis, David Rowland: Secretary of the Interior, IV. 1600, note
- Francis Joseph: Austrian emperor, IV. 1431
- Franklin, Tennessee: Schofield's army entrenched at, III. 1325
- Franklin, Benjamin: agent for colonies, I. 214; aids in founding Academy of Pennsylvania, I. 241; early American author, I. 245; Deputy Postmaster General of the colonies, I. 263; removed from office, I. 264; appointed Postmaster General by Congress, I. 264; proposes Plan of Union, I. 298; in Braddock's expedition, I. 302; interview with Grenville, I. 353; summoned before the bar of the House of Commons, I. 361; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; opposed to independence of colonies, I. 409; member of committee to draft a decla-

- ration of independence, I. 417; member of Secret Committee of Correspondence, II. 472; commissioned as minister to France, II. 474; signs Treaty of Versailles, II. 477; opens negotiations for peace with England, II. 515; in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; suggests an opening prayer in Constitutional Convention, II. 581; religious belief of, II. 678; signs abolition petition, III. 969
- Franklin, William Temple: prominent Tory of Philadelphia, II. 537
- Frazier's Farm: battle near, III. 1243
- Frederick the Great: forms alliance with England, I. 319; quoted on William Pitt, I. 319; praises Washington's military genius, II. 444; refuses to conclude alliance with the United States, II. 478
- Frederick City: occupied by Lee, III. 1246
- Fredericksburg: Burnside's defeat at, III. 1259
- Freedmen's Bureau: established, III. 1388; description of, III. 1394
- Freedom of Speech: Federalist enactments against, II. 667
- Freedom of the Press: victory for, in colonies, I. 190; Federalist enactments against, II. 667
- Freedom of Worship: sought by colonists of Plymouth, I. 148
- Freeman's Farm: battle of, II. 452
- Freeport, Illinois: Lincoln-Douglas debate at, III. 1105
- Free Soil Party: organized, III. 953; convention at Pittsburg (1852), III. 1037; summons a constitutional convention in Kansas, III. 1075; denounces Dred Scott decision, III. 1092
- "Free Speech, Free Soil, and Frémont," III. 1084
- Free Trade: see Taxation
- Frelinghuysen, Frederick Theodore: member of the Electoral Commission, IV. 1486, note; succeeds Blaine, IV. 1520; effort to abrogate Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, IV. 1695
- Frelinghuysen, Theodore: nominated for Vice President, III. 921
- Frémont, John Charles: elected senator from California, III. 1007; nominated for President (1856), III. 1080, 1083; earlier career, III. 1083; opposed by Choate, III. 1087; commander of the Military District of the West, III. 1206; relieved from command, III. 1207; Union general in Shenandoah, III. 1239; nominated for President (1864), III. 1320; withdraws from Presidential campaign, III. 1323
- French and Indian War: rival claims of British and French, I. 287; victory of French at Fort Necessity, I. 296; resources of belligerents, I. 297; Braddock's expedition, I. 301
- French and Indian Wars: see King William's War; Queen Anne's War; King George's War; and French and Indian War
- French in America: colonies inferior to English, I. 270; population of, I. 270; Indians ally with, I. 270; claims in Mississippi valley, I. 288; population in French and Indian War, I. 297; influence over Indians, I. 299
- French War, Old: see French and Indian War
- Freneau, Philip: edits the *National Gazette*, II. 632
- Friends, Society of: see Quakers
- Frobisher, Sir Martin: his voyages, I. 95; in the war with Spain, I. 100
- Frolic: captured, II. 737
- Frontenac, Count Lewis de Buade de: Governor of Canada, I. 271; defends Quebec, I. 272; attitude of, toward Indians, I. 299
- Fry, Joshua: sent against French, I. 295; succeeded by Washington, I. 296
- Frye, William Pierce: member of Spanish-American peace commission, IV. 1658; elected president of Senate, IV. 1685
- Fugitive Slave Law: I. of 1793, III. 962; 2. proposed in Compromise of 1850, III. 1011; passed, III. 1022; operation, III. 1028; violations of, in Ohio, III. 1108; denounced in

Western Reserve, III. 1109; modification of, proposed, III. 1153  
 Fulton, Robert: invents steamboat, II. 703  
 Fundamental Constitution or Grand Model: devised by Locke, I. 134; religious freedom promised by, I. 137; suspended, I. 140  
 Fundamental Orders: character of, I. 166  
 Funeral Customs: in the colonies, I. 268  
 Fur trade: important to French, I. 291, note; rivalry of French and English in, I. 291; of French, I. 299  
 Fur Seal Controversy, IV. 1640

## G

Gadsden Treaty, III. 1066  
 Gage, Thomas: Braddock's expedition, I. 305, 307; boasts of fear of colonists, I. 375; sent to Boston, I. 376; fortifies Boston Neck, I. 382; attempts to arrest Adams and Hancock, I. 383; offers amnesty to all rebels, I. 395; reinforced, I. 395.  
 Gaines, Edmund Pendleton: sent to Georgia to prevent surveys of Indian lands, II. 819  
 Gaines Mills: battle at, III. 1242  
 Gallatin, Albert: appointed Secretary of the Treasury, II. 684; ability, II. 690; sent to St. Petersburg, II. 754; report on highway construction, II. 774; describes Jackson, II. 833  
 Galloway, Joseph: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; prominent Tory of Pennsylvania, II. 537  
 Gama, Vasco da: his voyage to India, I. 41  
 Garden Mounds: location of, I. 8  
 Garfield, James Abram (1831-1881), President of the United States, 1881-Sept. 19, 1881; member of the Electoral Commission, IV. 1486, note; candidate for Speaker of the House, IV. 1491; Presidential candidate, IV. 1506; nominates Sherman, IV. 1506; sketch of, IV. 1508; resists Conkling, IV. 1515; assassination of, IV. 1516

Garland, Augustus Hill: member of the Senate, IV. 1491; Attorney General, IV. 1541, note  
 Garrett, Thomas: aids slaves to escape, III. 1032  
 Garrison, Cornelius: manager of San Francisco office of Accessory Transit Company, III. 1045  
 Garrison, William Lloyd: leader of abolition movement, III. 971; attacked by mob, III. 972; aids slaves to escape, III. 1032; joins liberal movement, IV. 1454  
*Gaspee* Affair, The, I. 371  
 Gates, Horatio: in Braddock's expedition, I. 307; succeeds Schuyler in New York, II. 452; quarrels with Arnold, II. 452; plots in his favor, II. 463; appointed commander in chief of Southern forces, II. 490  
 General Court of Massachusetts: powers of, I. 208, 210; directs establishment of public schools, I. 239; regulates dress, I. 265  
 Genêt, Edmond Charles: minister from France, II. 636  
 Geneva Arbitration, IV. 1447  
 Genoa: leader in commerce with the East, I. 36; birthplace of Columbus, I. 45  
 Gentlemen, Southern: political talents, III. 993; social character, III. 993  
 George II., King of England: loath to yield Louisburg, I. 285  
 George III., King of England: determines to force tax on colonists, I. 372; refuses to receive petition from American colonies, I. 409  
 Georgia: proprietary colony under Oglethorpe, I. 143; plan of government of, I. 144; first settlement, I. 145; dissatisfaction after departure of Oglethorpe, I. 146; becomes a royal colony, I. 147, 205; first representative assembly introduced (1752), I. 211; population at beginning of the Revolution, I. 219; Scotch-Irish settle in, I. 220; colonial newspapers, I. 248; Church of England established, I. 256; reduced to subjection to Crown, II. 486; refuses to surrender power of regulating commerce, II. 561; fails to



pay her share of national government expenses (1781), II. 563; ratifies the Constitution, II. 597; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; troubles over Indian claims in, II. 818; trouble with Cherokees, II. 850; delegates oppose slavery clause in Declaration of Independence, III. 957; cedes territory to national government, III. 963; circulation of Garrison's paper forbidden, III. 972; secession, III. 1133; Confederates seize Forts Pulaski and Jackson, III. 1139; Sherman's march through, III. 1323; legislature refuses seats to negro members-elect, III. 1393; readmitted, III. 1394; Democrats regain control, IV. 1426; the Atlanta Exposition, IV. 1626

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

- John Reynolds .....1754-1757  
 Henry Ellis .....1757-1760  
 James Wright .....1760-1776  
 Archibald Bullock (acting) .....1776-1777  
 Button Gwinnett (acting). 1777  
 John A. Trueitlen.....1777-1778  
 John Houstoun .....1778-1779  
 Georgia in the hands of the British, with Sir James Wright as royal governor.....1779-1781  
 John Martin .....1782-1783  
 Lyman Hall .....1783-1784  
 John Houstoun .....1784-1785  
 Samuel Elbert .....1785-1786  
 Edward Telfair .....1786-1787  
 George Matthews .....1787-1788  
 George Handley .....1788-1789  
 George Walton.....1789-1790  
 Edward Telfair.....1790-1793  
 George Matthews.....1793-1796  
 Jared Irwin.....1796-1798  
 James Jackson.....1798-1801  
 David Emanuel (acting).. 1801  
 Josiah Tattnall .....1801-1802  
 John Milledge.....1802-1806  
 Jared Irwin.....1806-1809  
 David B. Mitchell.....1809-1813  
 Peter Early.....1813-1815  
 David B. Mitchell.....1815-1817  
 William Rabun.....1817-1819  
 Matthew Talbot (acting).. 1819  
 John Clarke.....1819-1823  
 George M. Troup.....1823-1827  
 John Forsyth.....1827-1829  
 George R. Gilmer.....1829-1831  
 Wilson Lumpkin.....1831-1835  
 William Schley.....1835-1837  
 George R. Gilmer.....1837-1839  
 Charles J. McDonald....1839-1843  
 George W. Crawford....1843-1847  
 George W. Towns.....1847-1851  
 Howell Cobb.....1851-1853  
 Herschell V. Johnson...1853-1857  
 Joseph E. Brown.....1857-1865  
 Jas. Johnson (prov.)..... 1865  
 Charles J. Jenkins.....1865-1867  
 Gen. T. H. Ruger (prov.)1867-1868  
 Rufus B. Bullock.....1868-1872  
 Benjamin Conley (acting) 1871  
 James Milton Smith.....1872-1877  
 Alfred H. Colquitt.....1877-1882  
 Alex. H. Stephens.....1882-1883  
 J. S. Boynton (acting).... 1883  
 Henry D. McDaniel.....1883-1886  
 John B. Gordon.....1886-1890  
 William J. Northen.....1890-1894  
 William Y. Atkinson....1894-1898  
 Allen D. Candler.....1898-1902  
 Joseph M. Terrell.....1902—
- Germain, Lord George: plans invasion of New York State, II. 445; fails to send dispatch to General Howe, II. 446  
 Germans: seek religious freedom in Maryland, I. 132; settle in North Carolina, I. 136; included in Penn's colony, I. 202; in New Jersey and Delaware, I. 219  
 Germantown: battle of, II. 459  
 Germany: recognizes Samoan independence, IV. 1577; arbitration treaty with the United States, IV. 1719  
 Gerry, Elbridge: in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; refuses to sign the Constitution, II. 594; opposes ratification in Massachusetts of the Constitution, II. 597; signs Declaration of Independence, II. 605; in first Congress, II. 605; sent to France by Washington, II. 660; elected Vice President, II. 761



- Gettysburg: battle of, III. 1274; national cemetery dedicated, III. 1283
- Gettysburg Address, Lincoln's: text of, III. 1284
- Ghent, Treaty of: terms in, II. 757; disagreement of commission provided by, II. 777; provides for a commission to settle Northeast Boundary Dispute, III. 911
- Ghost dance: origin of, I. 18
- Gibbon, John: in expedition against Sitting Bull, IV. 1475
- Giddings, Joshua Reed: member of Buffalo Convention (1848), III. 952; aids cause of negro abduction, III. 1032
- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey: his voyages, I. 95
- Girard, Stephen: one of three early millionaires, II. 835
- Gist, Christopher: accompanies Washington, I. 294
- Gladstone, William Ewart: quoted on the Constitution, II. 585
- Glasgow University: graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, II. 577
- Godspeed*: carries settlers to Virginia, I. 106
- Goffe, William: repels attack on Hadley, I. 176
- Gold: discovered in California, III. 1001
- Gold and Silver Ratio: as first established, II. 627; changed, II. 877; in Independent Treasury Bill, II. 890
- Gold Coast: trade with New England, I. 232
- Goliad: battle of, III. 916
- Gonzales: battle of, III. 916
- Good Hope, Cape of: see Cape of Good Hope
- Gorges, Sir Ferdinando: appointed councilor, I. 106; secures grant for New Hampshire, I. 172; made palatine of Maine, I. 173; purchase of claims of heirs of, I. 173, 177
- Gorman, Arthur Pue: defeats Force Bill, IV. 1569
- Gosnold, Bartholomew: voyages of, I. 100
- Gourges, Dominic de: his vengeance on the Spaniards, I. 86
- Governors, Colonial: appointment, I. 205; tenure of office, I. 206; salary, I. 206; powers, I. 207; powers limited, I. 212
- Granada: fall of, I. 51
- Grand Banks of Newfoundland: frequented by English fishermen, I. 92; fisheries off, II. 777
- Grand Cañon of Colorado: discovered, I. 75
- Grand Gulf: in Vicksburg campaign, III. 1269
- Grand Model: see Fundamental Constitution
- Grand Pré Proclamation, I. 309
- Grange Movement: rise of, IV. 1493
- Grant, Ulysses S. (1822-1885), President of the United States, 1869-1876: in Mexican War, III. 947; sends troops into Kentucky, III. 1208; commands forces at Cairo, Illinois, III. 1209; capture of Fort Henry, III. 1209; captures Fort Donelson, III. 1210; early life, III. 1213; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1215; with Rosecrans in north Mississippi, III. 1264; in siege of Vicksburg, III. 1267; receives surrender of Vicksburg, III. 1273; ordered to Chattanooga, III. 1287; made lieutenant general, III. 1289; his theory of war, III. 1290; changes plan against Lee, III. 1292; tactics criticised, III. 1296; urges Thomas to attack, III. 1326; favors Lee's overtures for peace, III. 1337; receives Lee's surrender, III. 1340; approves Lincoln's reconstruction plans, III. 1378; made full general, III. 1392; quarrel with President Johnson, III. 1398; Secretary of War *ad interim*, III. 1398; nominated for President, IV. 1407; elected President, IV. 1411; inaugurated, IV. 1412; favors annexation Dominican Republic, IV. 1438; settlement of Alabama claims, IV. 1440, 1445; summary of his first term, IV. 1453; renominated for President (1872), IV. 1458; second inauguration, IV. 1460; approves the Resumption Act, IV. 1467; strengthens military forces about Washington,

- IV. 1485; urged for third term, IV. 1502; effort to check spoils system, IV. 1521; death, IV. 1557, note; appoints canal commission, IV. 1693; Roosevelt's Presidential majority compared to that of, IV. 1714
- Granville, Lord: proprietor of South Carolina, I. 140
- Grasse, Comte François Joseph Paul de: at siege of Yorktown, II. 511
- Graves, Thomas: attacks French fleet in Chesapeake Bay, II. 512
- Gray, Captain: discoveries of, III. 928
- Gray, George: member of Spanish-American peace commission, IV. 1659
- Grayson, William: in first Congress, II. 609
- Great Charter of Virginia: issued, I. 115; annulled, I. 117
- Great Kanawha River: French claims of, I. 292
- Great Lakes: French explorations, I. 288
- Great Meadows: first encounter of French and Indian War, I. 296
- Great Northern Railroad: Supreme Court decision respecting, IV. 1571
- Greely, Horace: opposes nomination of Clay for President, III. 895; favors Douglas's reelection, III. 1098; quoted on right of secession, III. 1169; Lincoln's letter to, III. 1255; opposes Lincoln, III. 1318; joins liberal movement, IV. 1454; early career, IV. 1456; nominated for President (1872), IV. 1456; end of his career, IV. 1459
- Green, Beriah: president of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973
- Green, Duff: in Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," II. 848
- Green, Roger: founds Albemarle, I. 133
- Greene, Nathanael: estimate of, I. 400; sent to fortify Brooklyn Heights, II. 424; abandons Fort Lee, II. 432; at battle of Brandywine, II. 458; succeeds Gates in the South, II. 504; at battle of Guilford Court House, II. 506; at battle of Hobkirk's Hill, II. 506; at Battle of Eutaw Springs, II. 507
- Greene's Cotton Factory: destroyed at Jackson, Miss., III. 1269
- Greensboro, North Carolina: Davis holds council with Confederate cabinet, III. 1345
- Greenville, Treaty of: concluded with Indians, II. 647
- Green Mountain Boys: revolt of, I. 173
- Greenback Party: nominates Peter Cooper for President (1876), IV. 1482; nominates Weaver for President (1880), IV. 1510; nominates Ben Butler for President (1884), IV. 1533
- Gregg, Maxey: death at Marye's Heights, III. 1260
- Grenville, George: attempts to enforce the Navigation Acts, I. 348; proposes the Stamp Act, I. 351; fall of his ministry, I. 361
- Grenville, Sir Richard: his part in the colonization of Virginia, I. 98
- Gresham, Walter Quinton: candidate for Presidential nomination, IV. 1561; Secretary of State, IV. 1600, note; death, IV. 1600, note, 1608
- Grey, Sir George: in Joint High Commission, IV. 1446
- Greytown: see San Juan, Central America
- Gridley, Richard: at capture of Louisville, I. 282
- Grijavla, Juan de: discovers America, I. 68
- Griswold, Roger: views on Louisiana Purchase, II. 699
- Groveton: battle of, III. 1245
- Grundy, Felix: in Congress, II. 728
- Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of, III. 945
- Guadeloupe: restored to France by Treaty of Paris, I. 336
- Guam: ceded to the United States, IV. 1661
- Guanahani: see San Salvador
- Guerriere: captured, II. 734
- Guilford Court House: battle of, II. 506
- Guiteau, Charles: Garfield assassinated by, IV. 1516; probable insanity of, IV. 1517
- Gustavus Adolphus: charters Delaware colony, I. 190

Guthrie, Oklahoma: established in one day, IV. 1588  
 Gwin, William M.: elected senator from California, III. 1007.

## H

Habeas Corpus, writ of: suspended by Andros, I. 178; Lincoln suspends, III. 1203, 1347  
 Hadley, Massachusetts: attack on repelled, I. 176; massacre of, I. 250  
 Hahn, Michael: elected to Congress, III. 1374; elected Governor of Louisiana, III. 1376  
 Haida Indians: their slate carving, I. 25  
 "Hail, Columbia": popularity of, II. 661  
 Hale, John Parker: nominated for President (1844), III. 953; nominated for President (1852), III. 1037  
 Hale, Nathan: fate of, II. 498  
 Half-breeds, The: Republican faction so named, IV. 1516; succeeded by Stalwarts, IV. 1519  
 Half King, Indian chief: accompanies Washington, I. 294; efforts of French to alienate, I. 299  
 Halifax: Fisheries Commission meets at, IV. 1447, 1451  
 Halket, Sir Peter: in Braddock's expedition, I. 306  
 Halleck, Fitz-Green: in American literature, II. 838  
 Halleck, Henry Wager: gives permission to Grant to capture Fort Henry, III. 1209; captures Corinth, III. 1220; appointed general in chief, III. 1244; sends Buell to Chattanooga, III. 1264; commander in chief, III. 1267  
 Hamilton, Alexander: graduates from King's College, I. 240; defends Joshua Waddington, II. 558; proposes the Constitutional Convention, II. 574; in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; writes for the *Federalist*, II. 596; member of New York ratification convention, II. 598; absent from first Congress, II. 609; Secretary of the Treasury, II. 610; proposes tax on whisky, II. 617;

plans payment of public debts, II. 620; proposes a national bank, II. 622; plans for national currency, II. 626; retires from cabinet, II. 633; favors neutrality, II. 635; defends Jay Treaty, II. 641; in command of army, II. 662; enmity between Jefferson and, II. 674; duel with Burr, II. 704  
 Hamilton, Andrew: extent of his reputation, I. 237  
 Hamlin, Hannibal: nominated for Vice President (1860), III. 1124; in Congress (1869), IV. 1414; hostile to Hayes, IV. 1490  
 Hampden-Sydney College: W. H. Harrison educated at, III. 900  
 Hampton, Wade: at Columbia, III. 1333  
 Hampton Roads Conference: failure of, III. 1335  
 Hancock, John: guilty of smuggling, I. 347; president of Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, I. 382; Gage attempts to arrest, I. 383; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 392; desires to be commander in chief of army, I. 393; excepted from amnesty offered by Gage, I. 396; opposed to Constitutional Convention, II. 577; not in favor of the Constitution, II. 597  
 Hancock, Winfield Scott: arrives at Gettysburg, III. 1277; valor at Gettysburg, III. 1280; wounded in Pickett's charge, III. 1280; at Spottsylvania, III. 1295; Presidential nominee, IV. 1509; sketch of, IV. 1509  
 Hanging Rock: battle of, II. 490  
 Hanna, Marcus Alonzo: agitated for Presidency, IV. 1702  
 Hapsburg, House of: ends, I. 280  
 Hardee, William J.: at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1216; at Stone River, III. 1266; defends Savannah, III. 1330; evacuates Charleston, III. 1334  
 Harlem Heights: battle of, II. 428  
 Harmar, General: sent against Indians, II. 645  
 Harper's Ferry, West Virginia: John Brown's raid upon, III. 1111; seized by Confederates, III. 1174; Lee en-

- ters Maryland at, III. 1246; captured by Confederates, III. 1248
- Harris, Isham G.: heads secession movement in Tennessee, III. 1176
- Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: convention for protection of manufacturers meets at, II. 822; Whig Convention (1839), III. 895; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; Lee's objective point, III. 1274
- Harrison, Benjamin (1740-1791): delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; great-grandfather of President Harrison, IV. 1561
- Harrison, Benjamin (1833-1901), President of the United States, 1889-1893; nominated President, IV. 1561; sketch of, IV. 1561; election, IV. 1565; pardons Mormon polygamists, IV. 1588; nominated for President (1892), IV. 1593; complications with Hawaii, IV. 1606
- Harrison, William Henry (1773-1841), President of the United States, March 4-April 4, 1841: defeats Indians at Tippecanoe, II. 727; Perry's dispatch to, II. 738; victory at Fort Meigs, II. 745; recaptures Detroit, II. 745; his rise in War of 1812, II. 763; candidate for Presidential nomination (1836), II. 884; nominated for President, III. 896; early life, III. 900; election, III. 900; inauguration, III. 901; death, III. 902
- Harrison's Landing: McClellan's retreat to, III. 1243
- Hartford: founded, I. 165
- Hartford*: at the capture of New Orleans, III. 1225; Farragut's flagship, III. 1317
- Hartford Convention: deathblow to Federalist party, II. 762
- Harvard, John: first benefactor Harvard University, I. 164; bequeaths property and library to college, I. 239
- Harvard University: founded, I. 164, 239; early catalogues of, I. 226; graduates in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; John Adams, a graduate from, II. 654; Roosevelt a graduate of, IV. 1709
- Haverhill: heroism of Hannah Dustin at, I. 273; attack on, I. 275
- Hawaii: revolution, IV. 1605; President Harrison concludes treaty with, IV. 1607; republic organized, IV. 1608; annexed to the United States, IV. 1662
- Hawkins, Sir John: visits the French colony on the St. John's, I. 84; in the war with Spain, I. 100
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel: in American literature, II. 838
- Hay, John: decides the principle in the settlements of the claims of the allied powers against China, IV. 1681; the isthmian canal, IV. 1696; concludes treaty with Panama, IV. 1698
- Hay-Bond Commercial Reciprocity Treaty: rejected by Senate, IV. 1720
- Hay-Pauncefote Treaty: annuls Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, IV. 1695
- Hay-Varilla Treaty: liberal concessions granted by, IV. 1699
- Hayes, Rutherford Birchard (1822-1893), President of the United States, 1877-1881: early career, IV. 1479; nominated for President (1876), IV. 1479; elected President (1876), IV. 1488; inauguration, IV. 1489; "star route" frauds, IV. 1521; civil service reform, IV. 1522
- Hayne, Robert Young: attacks Foote's resolution, II. 853; Governor of South Carolina, views on nullification, II. 863
- Hayti: discovered by Columbus, I. 55
- Hearst, William Randolph: candidate for Presidential nomination, IV. 1705
- Heath, William: commands at West Point, II. 511
- Helper, Hinton Rowan: author "The Impending Crisis," III. 1116
- Henderson, David Bremner: elected Speaker of the House, IV. 1685; retirement of, IV. 1688
- Hendricks, Thomas Andrews: nominated for Vice President (1876), IV. 1681; nominated for Vice President (1884), IV. 1531
- Hennepin, Louis: explorations of, I. 91
- Hennessy, D. C.: murdered by Mafia, IV. 1576



- Henry Hill: in battle of Bull Run, III. 1197
- Henrietta Maria: names Maryland, I. 126
- Henry, Cape: see Cape Henry
- Henry VII., King of England: sends out Cabot, I. 61; his commercial restrictions on colonists, I. 123
- Henry VIII., King of England: Protestant Reformation in England, I. 148
- Henry, Prince, surnamed the Navigator: his career, I. 40
- Henry, Guy Vernor: military governor of Porto Rico, IV. 1665
- Henry, Patrick: elevates the legal profession, I. 237; defeats clergy, I. 261; wins fame as an orator, I. 350; his speech before the House of Burgesses, I. 359; uses his eloquence in favor of rebellion, I. 365; delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; his estimate of Washington, I. 394; opposed to Constitutional Convention, II. 577; opposes ratification of the Constitution, II. 598; absence from first Congress, II. 609
- Hepburn Bill: proposed, IV. 1718
- Herbert, Hilary Abner: Secretary of the Navy, IV. 1600, note
- Herkimer, Nicholas: at battle of Oriskany, II. 450
- Hero of Quebec: see Wolfe, General James
- Hero of San Jacinto: see Houston, Sam
- Herran, Doctor Pedro Alcantara: Colombian envoy, IV. 1696
- Hertel de Rouville: see Rouville, Hertel de
- Hessians: hired by the King of England to subjugate the colonies, I. 410
- Hewitt, Abram Stevens: successful candidate against Roosevelt for Mayor of New York, IV. 1708
- Hiawatha, I. 13
- Hieroglyphics: used by Aztecs, I. 10
- Higginson, Thomas Wentworth: aids cause of negro abduction, III. 1032
- Hill, Benjamin H.: member of the Senate, IV. 1491
- Hill, David Bennett: elected governor, IV. 1565; attempts to defeat nomination of Cleveland (1892), IV. 1595; recommended for chairman of Democratic Convention (1896), IV. 1629
- Hill, David Harvey: in plan for invasion of the North, III. 1246
- Hill, Isaac: in Jackson's "kitchen cabinet," II. 848
- Hiram College: Garfield in faculty of, IV. 1508
- Hispaniola: see Hayti
- Hoar, Ebenezer Rockwood: in Grant's cabinet, IV. 1413; in Joint High Commission, IV. 1446
- Hoar, George Frisbie: member of Electoral Commission, IV. 1486, note; supports Hayes, IV. 1490; elected senator, IV. 1491; quoted on Grant's nomination for third term, IV. 1503; quoted on Garfield's speech, IV. 1506; fathers the repeal of the Tenure of Office Act, IV. 1543; drafts Presidential Succession Law, IV. 1545; drafts law for regulation of electoral count, IV. 1546
- Hobart, Garrett Augustus: nominated for Vice President (1896), IV. 1628
- Hobkirk's Hill: battle of, II. 507
- Hobson, Richard Pearson: sinks the *Merrimac*, IV. 1653
- Holland: see Netherlands
- Holly Springs: Confederate attack on, III. 1568
- Holy Alliance: account of, II. 781
- Homestead, Pennsylvania: strike of employes of Carnegie Steel Company, IV. 1598
- Honduras: Columbus discovers the coast of, I. 60; Walker executed, III. 1047; Louisiana Lottery removes to, IV. 1574
- Hood, John Bell: succeeds Johnston, III. 1311; endeavors to draw Sherman from Georgia, III. 1324; defeated at Nashville, III. 1326
- Hood, Samuel, Viscount Hood: fails to find French fleet, II. 512
- Hooker, General Joseph: sketch of, III. 1260, 1275; outgeneraled by Lee, III. 1262; held from pursuit by Lee's rear guard, III. 1274; succeeded by Meade, III. 1275



- Hooker, Thomas: founds Connecticut colony, 165; notable divine, I. 239
- Hopkins, Stephen: quoted on Rhode Island trade with Africa, I. 232; refuses to take cognizance of any case arising from the *Gaspee* affair, I. 372; delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379
- Hopkinson, Joseph: author of "Hail, Columbia," II. 661
- Horman, Judson: Attorney General, IV. 1600, note
- Horse Shoe Bend: Jackson's victory at, II. 806
- House of Burgesses: see Burgesses, House of
- House of Representatives: composition, II. 588; salary of members, II. 614; adopts the "twenty-first rule," III. 979
- Houston, Sam: at battle of San Jacinto, III. 917; commander in chief of Texan army, III. 917; elected president of Texas, III. 917; opposes Kansas-Nebraska Bill, III. 1059; refuses to join secession movement, III. 1135
- Howard, Oliver Otis: commands Hooker's right, III. 1262; commands Army of Tennessee, III. 1329; commands Sherman's right, III. 1332; president of Freedman's Bureau, III. 1396
- Howard Association, IV. 1501
- Howe, George Augustus, Viscount Howe: killed in expedition against Ticonderoga, I. 321
- Howe, General Robert: commander of American forces in the South, II. 486
- Howe, Samuel Gridley: in San Domingo commission, IV. 1439
- Howe, William, Viscount Howe: at siege of Quebec, I. 328; arrives at Boston, I. 395; at battle of Bunker Hill, I. 396; evacuates Boston, I. 407; in battle of Long Island, II. 423; at battle of White Plains, II. 428; captures Fort Washington, II. 431; his army pillages college buildings at Princeton, II. 443; attempts to march across New Jersey (1777), II. 456; at battle of Brandywine, II. 458; reduces Forts Mercer and Mifflin, II. 460; recalled, II. 464
- Hubbardton: battle of, II. 447
- Hudson, Henry: treatment of Indians, I. 91; enters Hudson and Delaware Bays, I. 180
- Hudson Bay: ceded to English, I. 278
- Hudson River: discovered and named, I. 180
- Huguenots: make settlements in America, I. 83; arrive in Virginia, I. 124; attracted to Maryland, I. 132; settle in North Carolina, I. 136; settlement of, in South Carolina, I. 138; as American colonists, I. 220.
- Hull, Isaac: commands *Constitution*, II. 734
- Hull, General William: attacks Canadians, II. 732
- Hülseman, Baron: protests against American interference with Hungary, III. 1063
- Human Sacrifice: practiced by the Aztecs, I. 10
- Humboldt, Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von: quoted on origin American Indians, I. 3
- Hunkers, III. 948
- Hunt, William Henry: in Garfield's Cabinet, IV. 1512, note; Governor of Porto Rico, IV. 1672
- Hunter, Robert Mercer Taliaferro: acts as intermediary for Confederacy, III. 1163; in Hampton Roads Conference, III. 133
- Hunter, William: deputy Postmaster General of the colonies, I. 263
- Hunton, Eppa: member of the electoral commission, IV. 1486, note
- Huron Indians: burial customs, I. 18
- Husbandry, Patrons of: see Grange Movement
- Hutchinson, Thomas: his house sacked by mob, I. 359; prominent Tory, II. 537; removes soldiers from Boston, I. 368
- Hutchinson, Anne: sketch of, I. 161; in Rhode Island colony, I. 170; adherents in New Hampshire, I. 172
- Hyde, Edward, Viscount Cornbury (afterwards Earl of Clarendon): Governor of New York, I. 189

## I

Iberville River: Spanish boundary, II. 701

Iceland: visited by Columbus, I. 46

Idaho: admitted to the Union, IV. 1591; Presidential election of 1892; IV. 1599; Presidential election of 1900; IV. 1671

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Wm. H. Wallace.....1863-1864  
Caleb Lyon.....1864-1866  
David W. Ballard.....1866-1867  
Samuel Bard ..... 1870  
Gilman Marston .....1870-1871  
Alexander Connor ..... 1871  
Thomas M. Bowen ..... 1871  
Thomas W. Bennett.....1871-1876  
Mason Brayman .....1876-1880  
John B. Neil.....1880-1883  
John N. Irwin..... 1883  
Wm. N. Burn.....1884-1885  
Edwin A. Stevens.....1885-1889

## STATE GOVERNORS

George L. Shoup..... 1890  
N. B. Willey.....1890-1893  
Wm. J. McConnell.....1893-1897  
Frank Steunenberg .....1897-1901  
Frank W. Hunt.....1901-1903  
John T. Morrison.....1903-1905  
Frank R. Gooding.....1905—

Illinois: Connecticut gives up claim to, II. 568; admitted, II. 776; free State II. 790; impetus to development, II. 836; abolition riot at Alton, III. 974; immigration of free negroes forbidden, III. 990; election of 1834, III. 1071; Presidential election of 1856, III. 1086; Lincoln-Douglas debates, III. 1097; legislature opposes national government (1862), III. 1351; Chicago fire (1872), IV. 1470; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), IV. 1536; Mormons enter, IV. 1584; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1598

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Ninian Edwards.....1809-1818

## STATE GOVERNORS

Shadrack Bond.....1818-1822  
Edward Coles.....1822-1826  
Ninian Edwards.....1826-1830  
John Reynolds.....1830-1834  
William L. D. Ewing  
(acting) ..... 1834  
Joseph Duncan .....1834-1838  
Thomas Carlin.....1838-1842  
Thomas Ford.....1842-1846  
Augustus C. French.....1846-1853  
Joel A. Matteson.....1853-1857  
William H. Bissell.....1857-1860  
John Wood (acting)....1860-1861  
Richard Yates.....1861-1865  
Richard J. Oglesby.....1865-1869  
John M. Palmer.....1869-1873  
Richard J. Oglesby..... 1873  
John L. Beveridge (act.)..1873-1877  
Shelby M. Cullom.....1877-1883  
John M. Hamilton.....1883-1885  
Richard J. Oglesby.....1885-1889  
Joseph W. Fifer.....1889-1893  
John P. Altgeld.....1893-1897  
John R. Tanner.....1897-1901  
Richard Yates.....1901-1905  
Charles S. Deneen.....1905—

Illinois Indians: belong to Algonquin stock, I. 11

Illuminés, The: Ku-Klux-Klan compared to, IV. 1425

"Impending Crisis": indignation caused by, in South, III. 1116

Imperialism: IV. 1708, 1711

Implied Powers, Doctrine of: authority for, II. 587; advocated by Hamilton, II. 623

Impressment of American Seamen: practiced by England, II. 639, 714; ignored in Treaty of Ghent, II. 754

Incas: found in Peru, I. 10

Indented Servants: see Servants, Indented

Independence: see Liberty

Independence, Declaration of: see Declaration of Independence

Independence Hall: Constitutional Convention meets at, II. 576; Lincoln's body rests in, III. 1566

Independent Party, or Mugwumps: support Cleveland (1884), IV. 1534

Independents: see Puritans

Indian Affairs, Bureau of: scandals in, IV. 1461  
 Indian Ocean: Ptolemy theory of, I. 38  
 Indian Springs, Treaty of: concluded, II. 819; annulled, II. 820  
 Indian Territory: created, II. 851; Seminoles resist removal to, II. 879; receives Seminoles, II. 892; Oklahoma separated from, IV. 1588; refused admission as State, IV. 1689  
 Indiana: Connecticut gives up claim to, II. 568; protests against Louisiana, II. 700; admitted, II. 776; free State II. 790; impetus to development, II. 836; election of 1854, III. 1071; Presidential campaign of 1856, III. 1085; boyhood home of Lincoln, III. 1099; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, III. 1107; legislature opposes national government (1862), III. 1351; question of negro suffrage, IV. 1408; Presidential election of 1868, IV. 1412; Presidential election of 1876, IV. 1483; Presidential election of 1880, IV. 1511; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), IV. 1535; Presidential election of 1884, IV. 1536; Presidential election of 1888, IV. 1562, 1565; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1598

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

William H. Harrison....1800-1812  
 John Gibson (acting)....1800-1801  
 Thomas Posey...ap. Mar 3, 1813-1816

## STATE GOVERNORS

Jonathan Jennings.....1816-1822  
 Ratcliff Boon (acting).... 1822  
 William Hendricks.....1822-1825  
 James B. Ray (acting)... 1825  
 James B. Ray.....1825-1831  
 Noah Noble.....1831-1837  
 David Wallace.....1837-1840  
 Samuel Bigger.....1840-1843  
 James Whitcomb.....1843-1848  
 Paris C. Dunning (acting).1848-1849  
 Joseph A. Wright.....1849-1857  
 Ashbel P. Willard.....1857-1860  
 Abram A. Hammonnd (acting) .....1860-1861  
 Henry S. Lane..... 1861  
 Oliver P. Morton (acting)1861-1865

Oliver P. Morton.....1865-1867  
 Conrad Baker (acting)...1867-1869  
 Conrad Baker.....1869-1873  
 Thomas A. Hendricks....1873-1877  
 James D. Williams.....1877-1880  
 Isaac P. Gray (acting)...1880-1881  
 Albert G. Porter.....1881-1885  
 Isaac P. Gray.....1885-1889  
 Alvin P. Hovey.....1889-1891  
 Ira J. Chase (acting)....1891-1893  
 Claude Matthews.....1893-1897  
 James A. Mount.....1897-1901  
 Winfield T. Durbin.....1901-1905  
 J. Frank Hanly.....1905—  
 Indianapolis: Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1367  
 Indians: theories as to the origin of, I. 3; physical characteristics, I. 14; religious instincts and beliefs, I. 17; burial customs, I. 18; habitations, I. 18; dress, I. 20; food and pursuits, I. 20; language and literature, I. 22; social and political organization, I. 22; status of the women, I. 24; industrial activity, I. 25; slavery existed, I. 25; war customs, I. 27; games and recreations, I. 28; personal characteristics, I. 29, 175, 299; population, I. 29; named by Columbus, I. 54; introduction of Christianity, I. 79; unfitted for hard labor, I. 79; Catholicism introduced by French, I. 91; friendly with early Virginians, I. 121; laws for protection in Pennsylvania, I. 198; influence of French over, I. 299; trouble with, in Northwest, II. 645, 726; land claims in Georgia, II. 818  
 Indies, Council of the: governs Spanish-American colonies, I. 78  
 Indigo Industry: in South Carolina, I. 235  
 Ingersoll, Jared: defeated for Vice President, II. 764;  
 Ingersoll, Robert Green: nominates Blaine for President (1876), IV. 1477  
 Ingraham, Captain: demands Koszta's release, III. 1065  
 Interior, Department of the: scandals of, IV. 1461

- International Cotton Exposition: held at Atlanta, IV. 1525
- Interstate Commerce Commission: provided for, IV. 1550; in Democratic platform (1904), IV. 1704; in relation to railroads, IV. 1717
- Interstate Commerce Law: enacted, IV. 1493, 1548; amendment to, IV. 1685
- Intolerable Acts: I. 375
- Intolerance: in religious worship of New England, I. 253; in the Southern colonies, I. 256
- Invincible Armada: see Armada, Spanish
- Iowa: affected by Missouri Compromise, II. 797; election of 1854, III. 1071; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, III. 1107

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

- Robert Lucas.....1838-1841
- John Chambers.....1841-1845
- James Clark.....1845-1846

## STATE GOVERNORS

- Ansel Briggs.....1846-1850
- Stephen Hempstead.....1850-1854
- James W. Grimes.....1854-1858
- Ralph P. Lowe.....1858-1860
- Samuel J. Kirkwood.....1860-1864
- William M. Stone.....1864-1868
- Samuel Merrill.....1868-1872
- C. C. Carpenter.....1872-1876
- Samuel J. Kirkwood..... 1876
- Joshua G. Newbold (acting) .....1876-1878
- John H. Gear.....1878-1882
- Buren R. Sherman.....1882-1886
- William Larrabee.....1886-1890
- Horace Boies.....1890-1892
- Albert B. Cummins.....1892-1894
- Frank D. Jackson.....1894-1896
- Francis M. Drake.....1896-1898
- Leslie M. Shaw.....1898-1902
- Albert B. Cummins.....1902- —

- Iroquoian Indians: independent of other families, I. 10; location, I. 11
- Iroquois Indians: their long houses, I. 19; rights of their women, I. 24; defeated by Champlain, I. 88; friendly feeling toward English, I.

- 91; attack Schenectady, I. 271; aid colonists in French and Indian War, I. 277; become subjects of Great Britain, I. 278; in Treaty of Utrecht, I. 291; hostility to Algonquins, I. 300
- Irving, Washington: in American literature, II. 838
- Isabella of Castile: at war with the Moors, I. 48; agrees to listen to Columbus's plans, I. 48
- Island Number Ten: Federals capture, III. 1219; Pope distinguished by victory at, III. 1244
- Itajuba, Count d': in Geneva Commission, IV. 1448
- Italy: protests against execution of Italians in New Orleans, IV. 1576; appoints Behring Sea arbitrator, IV. 1582; arbitration treaty with the United States, IV. 1719
- Itata*, Chilean cruiser: seized by United States, IV. 1579
- Iuka, Mississippi: capture of, III. 1265
- Izard, Ralph: sent as minister to Tuscany, II. 478

## J

- Jack, Captain: captured and executed, IV. 1474
- Jackson, Mississippi: Confederate stronghold in Vicksburg campaign, III. 1269; secession convention at, III. 1131
- Jackson, Michigan: first Republican Convention held at, III. 1069
- Jackson, Andrew: invited to join Burr in colonization scheme, II. 708; defends New Orleans, II. 752; leads expedition against Creek Indians, II. 752; his rise in War of 1812, II. 763; drives Seminoles to Everglades, II. 779; first Governor of Florida, II. 780; sketch of, as Presidential candidate, II. 806; his canvass for Presidency, II. 808; candidacy agitated throughout Adams's term, II. 826; account of administration, II. 830; sketch of, II. 830; as type of "New Democracy," II. 841; policy of, II. 848; views on internal im-



- provement, II. 852; feud with Calhoun, II. 859; opposes nullification, II. 859; proclamation embodying views on nullification, II. 862; general admiration for, II. 868; re-elected President, II. 873; censured for war on United States Bank, II. 875; success in conduct of foreign relations, II. 879; censure of, expunged from Senate journal, II. 881; his administration summarized, II. 881; retires to "The Hermitage," II. 881; denounces abolitionists, III. 976; interest in Panama Canal during administration of, IV. 1692
- Jackson, Hancock, of Missouri: leader of secessionists in Missouri, III. 1178; deposed, III. 1179
- Jackson, James: in first Congress, II. 606; British minister, II. 726
- Jackson, Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall): wins his sobriquet, III. 1198; in Shenandoah Valley, III. 1239; at Culpeper Court House, III. 1245; in plans for invasion of North, III. 1246; defeats Howard, III. 1262; in Shenandoah Valley, III. 1298; death of, III. 1262; sketch of, III. 1263
- James I., King of England: imprisons Raleigh, I. 99; charters London and Plymouth companies, I. 104; death, I. 118; hostility toward Presbyterians, I. 149
- James II., King of England: revocation of colonial charters by, I. 133; expelled from England, I. 133; colonial policy of, I. 178; receives grant in America, I. 185; abolishes charter of liberties, I. 187; revokes charter of New Jersey, I. 192; abdication of, I. 270
- James, Captain George: fires first shot of Civil War, III. 1167
- James, Thomas Lemuel: in Garfield's cabinet, IV. 1512, note; appointment opposed by Conkling, IV. 1515; exposes postal frauds, IV. 1521
- Jameson, Colonel: receives André as a prisoner, II. 498
- James River: named, I. 106; in McClellan's operations, III. 1243; Grant crosses, III. 1297
- Jamestown: settlement, I. 106; burned by Nathaniel Bacon, I. 122
- Java: destroyed by the *Constitution*, II. 737
- Jay, John: graduates from King's College, I. 240; delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; member of Secret Committee of Correspondence, II. 472; sent as minister to Spain, II. 481; appointed member of peace commission, II. 518; writes for the *Federalist*, II. 576; not delegate in Constitutional Convention, II. 579; absence from first Congress, II. 609; Chief Justice of the United States, II. 616; Governor of New York, II. 616; concludes treaty with England, II. 639
- Jay Treaty: provisions of, II. 639; effect on France, II. 659
- Jefferson, Thomas (1743-1826), President of the United States, 1800-1809: elevates the legal profession, I. 237; graduates from College of William and Mary, I. 242; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, I. 417; prepares the draft of the Declaration of Independence, I. 418; Republican nominee for President, II. 653; submits plan of government for Northwest Territory, II. 569; minister abroad, II. 577; theory of the Union, II. 667; Secretary of State, II. 610; wins national capital for the South, II. 621; opposes doctrine of implied powers, II. 624; hostility toward Hamilton, II. 631; urges Washington to accept reelection, II. 632; candidate for Vice President, II. 633; views on nullification, II. 668; enmity between Hamilton and, II. 674; character, II. 676; administration, II. 676; religious beliefs, II. 678; inaugural address, II. 681; political philosophy of, summarized II. 683; reelected President, II.



- 704; characterization of, II. 719; last years, II. 720; advises on Monroe Doctrine, II. 783; Democratic banquet commemorating anniversary of, II. 859; quoted on slavery in Virginia, III. 959; commissions Taylor, III. 996
- Jerry, runaway slave: rescued at Syracuse, New York, III. 1031
- Jessup, Colonel: sent to keep watch on Hartford Convention, II. 761; captures Osceola, II. 892
- Jessup, Morris Ketchum: organizes North American Indian expedition, I. 4, note
- Jesuits: see Jesus, Society of
- Jesus, Society of (Jesuits): sends missionary explorers to America, I. 91, 299
- Jewelry: among the Indians, I. 21
- Jews: denied rights of Toleration Act, I. 131; as American colonists, I. 220; persecuted in New England, I. 253; denied suffrage in New York and South Carolina, I. 254
- John II., King of Portugal: continues work of Henry the Navigator, I. 41; consulted by Columbus, I. 47
- Johnson, Andrew (1803-1875), President of the United States, April 15, 1865-1869: nominated Vice President, III. 1320; reviews Union troops before disbandment, III. 1346; takes oath of office for President, III. 1370; early life, III. 1372; threatens vengeance on Southern leaders, III. 1373; issues amnesty proclamation, III. 1383; declares rebellion at an end, III. 1390; lays cornerstone of monument to Douglas, III. 1391; Congress abridges powers of, III. 1392; quarrel with Grant, III. 1398, 1412; quarrel with Secretary Stanton, III. 1398; impeached, III. 1399; death, III. 1404; summary, III. 1404
- Johnson, Herschel V.: nominated for Vice President (1860), III. 1125
- Johnson, Sir Nathaniel: Governor of South Carolina, I. 140; excludes dissenters from Carolina assembly, I. 140
- Johnson, Reverdy: concludes treaty with England, IV. 1445
- Johnson, Richard Malcolm: Tecumseh slain by, II. 746; nominated Vice President, II. 883; chosen Vice President, II. 884
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel: president of King's College, I. 240
- Johnson, Sir William: influence of, I. 300; friend of Indians, I. 313; knighted, I. 313; leads expedition against Crown Point, I. 313; captures Fort Niagara, I. 326; concludes treaty with Pontiac, I. 341
- Johnston, Albert Sydney: commands forces at Bowling Green, III. 1209; attempts to remove him from command, III. 1212; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1216; death, III. 1218
- Johnston, Joseph Eccleston: at battle of Bull Run, III. 1196; advises against attack on Washington, III. 1200; commands Confederate army, III. 1237; wounded, III. 1239; succeeded by Lee, III. 1240; commands at Jackson, III. 1269; succeeds Bragg, III. 1289; generalship of, III. 1307; opposes Sherman's march, III. 1307; his removal, III. 1311; Lee's effort to join, III. 1337; surrenders to Sherman, III. 1345
- Joint High Commissions: 1. appointed for *Alabama* claims, IV. 1446; 2. appointed to settle for seal controversy, IV. 1641
- Jones, John Paul: naval exploits of, II. 527
- Jonesboro: Sherman seizes railroad at, III. 1313
- Juarez, Benito Pablo: liberal leader in Mexico, IV. 1430; leads Liberal Party in Mexico, IV. 1435
- Judiciary, Colonial: I. 213
- Julian, George W.: nominated for Vice President, III. 1037; joins liberal movement, IV. 1454

Kalb, Baron Johann de: his services to America, II. 482; sent to South Carolina, II. 490; death, II. 492

Kalm, Peter: predicts the Revolution, I. 342

Kanawha: see West Virginia

Kannaghunut Island: awarded to United States, IV. 1691

Kansas: as affected by Missouri Compromise, II. 797; part of Northwest Territory, III. 1051; struggle for, III. 1072; Missouri slave code adopted, III. 1075; account of trouble respecting slavery, III. 1094; effect of Dred Scott decision, III. 1094; opposes negro suffrage, IV. 1408; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1599; Presidential election of 1900, IV. 1671

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Andrew H. Reeder, Pa...1854-1855  
Wilson Shannon, O.....1855-1856  
John N. Geary, Pa.....1856-1857  
Robert J. Walker, Miss..1857-1858  
J. W. Denver.....1858  
Samuel Medary.....1858-1861  
George B. Beebe.....1861

#### STATE GOVERNORS

Charles Robinson.....1861-1862  
Thomas Carney.....1862-1864  
S. J. Crawford.....1864-1868  
James M. Harvey.....1868-1872  
Thomas A. Osborn.....1872-1875  
George T. Anthony.....1875-1878  
John P. St. John.....1878-1883  
George W. Glick.....1883-1885  
John A. Martin.....1885-1887  
Lyman W. Humphreys...1887-1893  
D. D. Lewelling.....1893-1895  
E. N. Morrill.....1895-1897  
John W. Leedy.....1897-1899  
William E. Stanley.....1899-1903  
Willis J. Bailey.....1903-1905  
Edward W. Hoch.....1905—

Kansas-Nebraska Bill, III. 1049, 1092

Kaskaskia: in French claims, I. 288

Kearney, Dennis: leader of Chinese agitation, IV. 1497

Kearneyism: see Kearney, Dennis

Kearny, Philip: assembles volunteers at Leavenworth, III. 936; captures Santa Fé, III. 937; death of, III. 1246

Kearsarge: sinks the *Alabama*, IV. 1442

Kellogg, William Pitt: contest for governorship, IV. 1426, note; indictment of, IV. 1521

Kemper's Battery: at battle of Bull Run, III. 1199

Kendall, Amos: as Jackson's literary adviser, II. 848; quoted on exclusion of abolition literature from the mails, III. 975

Kenesaw Mountain: battle of, III. 1307; political effect of repulse at, III. 1322

Kennebec River: boundary of grant to Gorges and Mason, I. 172

Kent, James: American jurist, II. 841

Kentucky: Scotch-Irish and Germans settle, I. 220; admitted, II. 633, III. 963; riflemen of, at New Orleans, II. 753; slave State, II. 790; opposes protection, II. 822; votes for Clay as President, II. 869; State election of 1855, III. 1072; native State of Lincoln, III. 1099; Presidential election of 1860, III. 1126; Confederate attempts to win adhesion of, III. 1179; military operation in (1862), III. 1207; Bragg's plan for invading, III. 1264; opposes Lincoln's reelection, III. 1323; Presidential election of 1896, IV. 1636; Presidential election of 1904, IV. 1714

#### STATE GOVERNORS

Isaac Shelby.....1792-1796  
James Garrard.....1796-1804  
Christopher Greenup.....1804-1808  
Charles Scott.....1808-1812  
Isaac Shelby.....1812-1816  
George Madison.....1816  
Gabriel Slaughter.....1816-1820  
John Adair.....1820-1824  
Joseph Desha.....1824-1828  
Thomas Metcalfe.....1828-1832  
John Breathitt.....1832-1834  
J. T. Morehead.....1834-1836  
James Clark.....1836-1837  
C. A. Wickliffe.....1837-1840  
Robert P. Letcher.....1840-1844  
William Owsley.....1844-1848  
John J. Crittenden.....1848-1850  
John L. Helm.....1850-1851  
Lazarus W. Powell.....1851-1855

- Charles S. Morehead.....1855-1859  
 Beriah Magoffin.....1859-1861  
 J. F. Robinson.....1861-1863  
 Thomas E. Bramlette.....1863-1867  
 John L. Helm.....1867  
 John W. Stevenson.....1868-1871  
 Preston H. Leslie.....1871-1875  
 James B. McCreary.....1875-1879  
 Luke P. Blackburn.....1879-1883  
 J. Proctor Knott.....1883-1887  
 Simon B. Buckner.....1887-1891  
 J. Y. Brown.....1891-1896  
 William O. Bradley.....1896-1900  
 William S. Taylor.....1900  
 William Goebel.....1900  
 J. C. W. Beckham.....1900—  
 Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions:  
 prepared by Jefferson, II. 667; sen-  
 timent of Hartford Convention  
 compared to, II. 761  
 Kerr, Michael: Speaker of the House,  
 IV. 1464  
 Key, Francis Scott: author "Star Span-  
 gled Banner," II. 752  
 Kickapoo Indians: belong to Algonquin  
 stock, I. 11  
 Kidd, Captain William: account of, I.  
 188  
 Kinderhook, New York: birthplace of  
 Van Buren, II. 886  
 Kieft, William: Dutch Governor of  
 New York, I. 183; disputes with  
 Swedes, I. 190  
 King, Rufus: in Constitutional Con-  
 vention, II. 577; member of Massa-  
 chusetts ratifying convention, II.  
 597; in first Congress, II. 606; Fed-  
 eralist candidate Vice President,  
 (1800), II. 707; Federal candidate  
 Vice President (1804), II. 721;  
 nominated for President, II. 764  
 King, William Rufus: nominated for  
 Vice President, III. 1035  
 King George's War: cause of, I. 280;  
 capture of Louisburg, I. 280;  
 treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, I. 285  
 King Philip's War: cause of, I. 175;  
 cost of, I. 176  
 King William's War: origin of, I. 270  
 King's College: see Columbia University  
 King's Mountain: battle of, II. 502  
 Kingston, Canada: in French claims, I.  
 288  
 Kirkwood, Samuel J.: member of the  
 Senate, IV. 1491; in Garfield's cabi-  
 net, IV. 1512, note  
 "Kitchen Cabinet": Jackson's advisers  
 so named, II. 848  
 Kittanning: destroyed by English, I.  
 315  
 Klondike: discovery of gold, IV. 1641  
 Knights of Labor, IV. 1555  
 Know-Nothing Party: methods, III.  
 1070; decline, III. 1072; convention  
 at Philadelphia (1856), III. 1080  
 Knox, Henry: estimate of, I. 401; Sec-  
 retary of War, II. 613; made major  
 general, II. 662  
 Knoxville, Tennessee: Bragg attacks  
 Burnside at, III. 1287; effects of  
 Confederate loss of, III. 1288  
 Knyphausen: at battle of Brandywine,  
 II. 458  
 Kosciusko: his services to America, II.  
 482  
 Kossuth, Louis: visits America, III.  
 1064  
 Koszta, Martin: affair of, III. 1064  
 Kremer, Congressman: charges Adams  
 and Clay with corruption, II. 811  
 Ku-Klux-Klan: account of, IV. 1421  
 Ku-Klux-Klan Act: decision of Supreme  
 Court respecting, IV. 1427  
 Kwakiutl Indians: social organization,  
 I. 23
- ## L
- Labor Party: Presidential election of  
 1888, IV. 1562  
 Labrador: fishery rights secured off, II.  
 777  
 Laconia Company: organized, I. 172  
 Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves  
 Gilbert Mortier, Marquis de: at  
 battle of Monmouth, II. 466; his  
 services to America, II. 482; out-  
 maneuvers Cornwallis, II. 508  
 Lanier, Sidney: at the opening of the  
 Centennial Exposition, IV. 1472  
 Lake Champlain: campaign fails at, II.  
 734; McDonough's victory on, II.  
 738  
 Lake Erie: War of 1812 operations on,  
 II. 737  
 Lake George (Lake Sacrament): battle  
 of, I. 313

- Lake of the Woods: established as boundary, II. 778
- Lake Sacrament: see Lake George
- Lakeview Cemetery, Cleveland: Garfield buried in, IV. 1517
- Lamar, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus: his influence over Democratic Party, IV. 1488; member of the Senate, IV. 1491; his tribute to Senator Sumner, IV. 1492; affronts Conkling in Senate, IV. 1505, note; Secretary of the Interior, IV. 1541, note
- Lamar, Mirabeau Buonaparte: Vice President of Texas, III. 917
- Lamont, Daniel Scott: Secretary of War, IV. 1600, note
- Lancaster: Congress meets at, II. 464
- Lancaster, Treaty of, I. 291; English claims based on, I. 293
- Lane, Joseph: nominated for Vice President (1860), III. 1125
- Lane, Ralph: Governor of Roanoke Island colony, I. 98
- Langdon, John: in first Congress, II. 606
- Languages, Indian, I. 22
- La Salle, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de: explorations of, I. 91
- Las Quasimas: battle of, IV. 1654
- Laud, William, Archbishop: severity of, in England, I. 158
- Laudonnière, Renè de: attempts to plant a colony on the St. John's River, I. 84
- Lauray Valley: devastated by Sheridan, III. 1303
- Laurel Hill: battle of, III. 1194
- Laurence, Henry: quoted on slavery, III. 959
- Laurens, Henry: sent as minister to the Netherlands, II. 478; appointed member of peace commission, II. 518
- Law, Practice of: in the colonies, I. 236
- Lawrence, Abbot: vituperates government, II. 888
- Lawrence, Amos: one of three early millionaires, II. 835
- Lawrence, James: death, II. 741;
- Lawrence*: Perry's flagship, II. 737
- Lawrence, Kansas: sacked, III. 1078
- Lawton, Henry Wade: in Santiago campaign, IV. 1654; death, IV. 1667
- Lecky, William Edward Hartpole: quoted on the Boston Tea Party, I. 374
- Lecompton Constitution: account of, III. 1094
- Lee, Arthur: commissioned as minister to France, II. 474; signs Treaty of Versailles, II. 477; sent to Berlin, II. 478
- Lee, Charles: appointed major general, I. 395; disobeys Washington's orders, II. 432; early career, II. 432; captured by British, II. 436; exchanged, II. 465; at battle of Monmouth, II. 466; court-martialed, II. 469; expelled from the army, II. 470; death and burial, II. 470
- Lee, Fitzhugh: appointed major general, IV. 1651
- Lee, Henry: member of Virginia ratifying convention, II. 598; in Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet," II. 848; quoted on slavery in Virginia, III. 959
- Lee, Richard Henry: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; proposes a declaration of independence, I. 417; opposed to Constitutional Convention, II. 578; opposes ratification of the Constitution, II. 595; member of Virginia ratification committee, II. 598; in first Congress, II. 606; eulogy of Washington, II. 671
- Lee, Richard Henry: at opening of Centennial Exposition, IV. 1472
- Lee, Robert Edward: in Mexican War, III. 947; captures Brown at Harper's Ferry, III. 1112; sketch of, III. 1240; plans invasion of North, III. 1246; withdraws from Maryland after Antietam, III. 1248; generalship praised, III. 1262; second invasion of North, III. 1274; makes overtures for peace, III. 1337; surrenders Confederate army, III. 1339
- Lee, Stephen D.: at Chickasaw Bayou, III. 1268
- Lee, William: sent to Austria, II. 478



- Leesburg: failure of attack on Confederate camp at, III. 1237
- Legal Tender Act: passed (1862), III. 1353; before the Supreme Court, IV. 1468
- Leif Ericson: discovers America, I. 31
- Leisler, Jacob: heads revolution, I. 187; execution of, I. 188
- Leon, Ponce de: see Ponce de Leon
- Leopard*: attacks the *Chesapeake*, II. 716
- Lesseps, Ferdinand de: president of French Canal Construction Company, IV. 1693
- Lewis, Meriwether: expedition of, II. 701
- Lewis, William B.: supports Jackson, II. 808; familiar adviser of Jackson, II. 848
- Lewis and Clark Expedition, II, 701; claim for Oregon Territory, III. 928
- Lexington, Massachusetts: battle of, I. 384
- Lexington, Virginia: seat of Virginia Military Institute, III. 1263
- Liberal Republican Movement: see Republican Movement, Liberal
- Liberty*, colonial sloop: seized by authorities for smuggling, I. 348
- Liberty, Sons of: organized, I. 359
- Liberty Party: see Abolitionist Party
- "Liberty and Union, Now and Forever, One and Inseparable," II. 857
- Library of Congress: burned by British in 1814, II. 751
- Liliuokalani, Queen of Hawaii: dethroned, IV. 1605
- Lima, University of, I. 80
- Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865), President of the United States, 1861-April 15, 1865: compared with Jackson, II. 830; on Dred Scott decision, III. 1092; put forward for Senator, III. 1098; sketch of, III. 1099; in Lincoln-Douglas debates, III. 1103; personal sketch of, III. 1103; defeated by Douglas, III. 1106; in Republican Convention, III. 1120; attracts Eastern Republicans, III. 1123; candidate for nomination (1860) III. 1123; nominated for President (1860), III. 1124; inauguration, III. 1160; his proclamation after the fall of Sumter, III. 1170; declares Southern ports to be blockaded, III. 1180; disavows act of Captain Wilkes, III. 1189; fears for safety of Washington, III. 1190; orders McClellan to West Virginia, III. 1192; recognizes Pierpoint as Governor of Virginia, III. 1193; orders Federal advance into Virginia, III. 1195; his message to Congress (July 4, 1861), III. 1202; opposes Frémont's abolition policy, III. 1207; urges McClellan to pursue Lee, III. 1249; Emancipation Proclamation, III. 1255; quoted on surrender of Vicksburg, III. 1274; calls upon State militias for defense against Lee's invasion, III. 1275; address at Gettysburg, III. 1283; appoints Grant lieutenant general, III. 1289; his reelection, III. 1318, 1381; in Hampton Roads conference, III. 1336; attitude toward overtures for peace, III. 1337; suspends writ of *habeas corpus*, III. 1347; controversy with Taney, III. 1348; the Vallandigham case, III. 1349; assassination, III. 1362; funeral, III. 1365; estimate of, III. 1367; plan for reconstruction of South, III. 1375; last public speech, III. 1382
- Lincoln, Benjamin: commands militia in Shays's Rebellion, II. 567; appointed to command of Southern forces, II. 486; drives Prevost out of South Carolina, II. 487; surrenders Charleston to British, II. 488
- Lincoln, Robert Todd: in Garfield's cabinet, IV. 1512, note; retained by Arthur, IV. 1520
- Lincoln-Douglas debates: account of, III. 1097
- Line of Demarcation: see Demarcation, Line of
- "*L'Insurgente*," French frigate: captured, II. 662
- Literature: in New England colonies, I. 242
- Little Belt*, British frigate: captured by President, II. 726



- Little Big Horn River: massacre of, IV. 1476
- Little Fort Valley: devastated by Sheridan, III. 1303
- "Little Giant": see Douglas, Stephen Arnold
- Little Rock, Arkansas: Confederates seize arsenal, III. 1139, 1178
- Little Round Top: in battle of Gettysburg, III. 1277
- Livingston, Edward: delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391
- Livingston, Robert R.: delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, I. 417; administers oath to Washington, II. 605; minister to France, II. 695
- Locke, John: devises Fundamental Constitution, I. 134; his constitution compared with Gorges's charter, I. 173; his writings a source of United States Constitution, II. 586
- Lodge, Henry Cabot: in Alaskan boundary commission, IV. 1691
- Logan, John Alexander: urges Grant for third term, IV. 1503; nominated for Vice President, IV. 1528
- "Log cabin and hard cider," III. 898
- Logtown, Treaty of, I. 291; English claims based on, I. 293
- Lome, Dupuy de: his letter concerning President McKinley, IV. 1645
- London Company: James I. charters, I. 104
- Londonderry, Robert Stewart, Marquis of: see Stewart, Robert
- Long Island: battle of, II. 424
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth: in American literature, II. 841
- Longstreet, James: at Bull Run, III. 1245; in plan for invasion of North, III. 1246; his corps detached from Lee's army, III. 1261; at Gettysburg, III. 1278; retrieves Rosecrans's mistake at Chickamauga, III. 1285; in battle of Wilderness, III. 1291
- Lookout Mountain: battle of, III. 1287
- Loose Constructionists: origin, II. 623
- Lopez, Narciso: his filibustering expedition to Cuba, III. 1044; death, III. 1044
- Lords of Trade and Plantations: sketch of, I. 207
- Los Angeles, California: Chinese riots at, IV. 1497
- Lost Colony: I. 98
- Lotteries: uses to support colonial colleges, I. 242; legislation against, IV. 1572
- Loudon, Earl of: made commander in chief of forces in America, I. 314; plans attack upon Louisburg, I. 316
- Louis XIV., King of France: James II. befriended by, I. 270; befriends Philip of Anjou, I. 274
- Louis XVI., King of France: and French revolution, II. 635
- Louisiana: Acadians in, I. 311; part of, ceded to Spain, I. 336; purchased, II. 694; uncertain boundaries of, II. 778; citizenship insured in purchase, II. 780; slavery in, II. 789; admitted, II. 790, II. 964; slave State, II. 790; question of slavery raised, II. 792; outbreak against Spanish in New Orleans, III. 1044; delegates withdraw from Democratic Convention, III. 1119; secession, III. 1135; Confederates seize Forts St. Philip, Jackson and Livingston, III. 1139; Confederates seize United States mint at New Orleans, III. 1140; reconstruction policy of Lincoln, III. 1374; despoiled by carpet-bag governor, IV. 1420; reconstruction effects in, IV. 1420; governorship contests in, IV. 1426, note; end of carpet-bag rule, IV. 1427; negro franchise in, IV. 1427; Presidential election of 1876, IV. 1483; collapse of the "negro carpet-bag" government, IV. 1490
- GOVERNOR OF TERRITORY OF ORLEANS
- W. C. C. Claiborne.....1804-1812
- STATE GOVERNORS
- W. C. C. Claiborne.....1812-1816
- James Villere.....1816-1820
- Thomas B. Robertson....1820-1824
- H. S. Thibodeaux (acting) 1824
- Henry Johnson.....1824-1828
- Peter Derbigny.....1828-1829
- A. Beauvais (acting).....1829-1830

- Jacques Dupré (acting)...1830-1831  
 André B. Roman.....1831-1834  
 Edward D. White.....1834-1838  
 André B. Roman.....1838-1841  
 Alexander Mouton .....1841-1845  
 Isaac Johnson .....1845-1850  
 Joseph Walker .....1850-1854  
 Paul O. Herbert.....1854-1858  
 R. C. Wickliffe.....1858-1860  
 Thomas O. Moore.....1860-1863  
 Michael Hahn .....1863-1864  
 Henry F. Allen.....1864  
 James M. Wells.....1864-1867  
 Benjamin F. Flanders....1867-1868  
 Joshua Baker.....1868  
 Henry C. Warmoth.....1868-1872  
 J. McEnery (claimant)...1872  
 Wm. Pitt Kellogg (de facto) 1872  
 Wm. Pitt Kellogg.....1872-1877  
 Stephen B. Packard.....1877-1878  
 Francis T. Nicholls.....1878-1880  
 Louis A. Wiltz.....1880-1881  
 S. D. McEnery.....1881-1888  
 Francis T. Nicholls.....1888-1892  
 Murphy J. Foster.....1892-1896  
 Murphy J. Foster.....1896-1900  
 William Wright Heard...1900-1904  
 Newton C. Blanchard....1904—
- Louisiana Purchase: importance of, in American history, II. 699; raises slavery question, III. 964  
 Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Congress passes bill for loan to, IV. 1689  
 Louisiana State Lottery: account of, IV. 1573  
 Louisiana Territory: in Missouri Compromise, II. 796; plan of government the model for governing canal zone, IV. 1700  
 Louisburg: established, I. 279; captured by Pepperell, I. 280; fall of, I. 282; restored to French, I. 285; capture of (1758), I. 319  
 Louisville, Kentucky: objective point of Bragg's invasion, III. 1264; exposition at, IV. 1525  
 Lovejoy, Elijah Parish: death, III. 974  
 Lovell, James: plots against Washington, II. 463  
 Lowell, James Russell: in American literature, II. 841; quoted on effect of bombardment of Fort Sumter, III. 1170  
 Lower California: Walker attempts to make a republic of, III. 1045  
 Lowndes, William: in Congress, II. 728  
 Ludlow Commission, The: appointed by Congress, IV. 1694  
 Lumber Industry: in New England, I. 231; in North Carolina: I. 235  
 Lundy, Benjamin: publishes abolitionist paper, III. 972  
 Lundy's Lane: American loss at, II. 749  
 Lutherans: not tolerated in New York, I. 255  
 Lyman, Phineas: in French and Indian War, I. 313  
 Lynch, John R.: leader of negro race, III. 990  
 Lyon, Mathew: prosecuted under Sedition Act, II. 666  
 Lyon, Nathaniel: leader of Missouri Unionists, III. 1179; in campaign of 1861-1862, III. 1206; killed, III. 1206
- ## M
- McClellan, George Brinton: sent to West Virginia, III. 1192; campaign in West Virginia, III. 1195; commands Army of Potomac, III. 1236; complains of lack of support, III. 1244; recalled from Peninsula campaign, III. 1244; reinstated in command Army of the Potomac, III. 1246; at Antietam, III. 1248; welcomed by Maryland, III. 1248; succeeded by Burnside, III. 1249; denounces Emancipation Proclamation, III. 1256; final removal from command, III. 1258; Lincoln's estimate of, III. 1258; reinstatement agitated, III. 1297; nominated for President, III. 1321; in Democratic Presidential nomination, IV. 1705  
 McClelland, John Alexander: at siege of Fort Donelson, III. 1210  
 McClure, Alexander Kelly: joins liberal movement, IV. 1454  
 McCook, Alexander McDowell: at Stone River, III. 1266

- McCulloch, Benjamin: in Missouri campaign, III. 1206
- McCulloch, Hugh: Secretary of the Treasury, IV. 1465
- MacDonald, Donald: Caswell defeats, I. 407
- MacDonald, Sir John Alexander: in Joint High Commission, IV. 1446
- McDonough, Thomas: wins victory on Lake Champlain, II. 738; among naval heroes of War of 1812, II. 763
- McDowell, Irvin: plans battle of Bull Run, III. 1195; defeated by Jackson, III. 1240
- McDuffie, George: quoted on the necessity of slavery, III. 994
- McIntosh, Indian chief: concludes treaty, II. 819
- McKane, John Y.: conviction of, IV. 1536
- McKean, Thomas: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379
- McKenzie, Sir Alexander: leader Canadian insurrection, II. 891
- McKinley, William (1843-1901). President of the United State, 1897-Sept. 14, 1901: enters Congress, IV. 1491; offers protective tariff bill, IV. 1566; nominated for President (1896), IV. 1628; elected President (1896), IV. 1636; inaugurated (1897), IV. 1637; financial legislation, IV. 1639; fur seal controversy, IV. 1640; the war with Spain, IV. 1641; nominated for President (1900), IV. 1668; second election, IV. 1671; appoints a commission for the Philippine Islands, IV. 1674; second inauguration, IV. 1683; shot by assassin, IV. 1683; death of, IV. 1683; characterization of, IV. 1684
- McKinley Tariff Law: enacted, IV. 1566; effect on election 1890, IV. 1575; attacked by Congress, IV. 1602
- McLane, Louis: transferred by Jackson, II. 873
- McLean, John: candidate for Presidential nomination (1856), III. 1083; dissents from Taney's decision, III. 1091
- McPherson, James Birdseye: in Sherman's march to Atlanta, III. 1307; killed at Peach Tree Creek, III. 1312; political effect of death of, III. 1322
- McVeagh, Wayne: in Garfield's cabinet IV. 1512, note
- Macedonian*, the frigate: captured, II. 737
- Mackinaw: captured by Indians, I. 341; given up by England, II. 640; fall of, II. 733
- Macon Bill No. 2: passed, II. 725
- Madeira: discovered, I. 40
- Madison, James (1751-1836), President of the United States, 1809-1817: proposes interstate commerce commission, II. 574; in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; his journal of Constitutional Convention, II. 578; his compromise for revenue quotas, II. 583; favors the Constitution, II. 595; writes for the *Federalist*, II. 596; member of Virginia ratification committee, II. 598; in first Congress, II. 606; author of Virginia Resolutions, II. 668; his views on nullification, II. 668; appointed Secretary of State, II. 684; nominated President, II. 720; character of, II. 722; elected President, II. 761; declines third term, II. 764; vetoes internal improvements, II. 774; advises on Monroe Doctrine, II. 783; views on internal improvements, II. 852; quoted on slavery in Virginia, III. 959; president of American Colonization Society, III. 968
- Madison, Mrs.: rescues Stuart portrait of Washington, II. 751
- Madrid: American legation building threatened at, IV. 1452
- Mafia, The: in New Orleans, IV. 1576
- Magaw, Colonel: attempts to hold Fort Washington, II. 431
- Magellan, Ferdinand (Fernao de Magalhoes): seeks the Pacific Ocean, I. 66; death, I. 66
- Magellan, Straits of: see Straits of Magellan
- Magoffin, Beriah: attempts to keep Kentucky neutral, III. 1179
- Magruder, John Bankhead: at battle of

Bull Run, III. 1196; Confederate commander, III. 1238  
 Maine: origin, 172; absorbed by Massachusetts, I. 173; coast of, occupied by British in War of 1812, II. 750; dispute over admission, II. 796; trouble with New Brunswick over boundary, II. 890; election of 1854, III. 1071; election of 1880, IV. 1511; election of 1896, IV. 1636; election of 1904, IV. 1714

## STATE GOVERNORS

Wm. King (resigned).....1820-1821  
 W. D. Williamson (acting), .....1821-1822  
 Albion K. Parris.....1822-1827  
 Enoch Lincoln (died)....1827-1829  
 Nathan Cutler (acting)...1829-1830  
 Jonathan D. Hutton.....1830-1831  
 Samuel E. Smith.....1831-1834  
 Robert P. Dunlap.....1834-1838  
 Edward Kent.....1838-1839  
 John Fairfield.....1839-1840  
 Edward Kent.....1840-1841  
 John Fairfield.....1841-1843  
 E. Kavanagh (acting)....1843-1844  
 Hugh J. Anderson .....1844-1847  
 John W. Dana.....1847-1850  
 John Hubbard.....1850-1853  
 W. G. Crosby.....1853-1855  
 Anson P. Morrill.....1855-1856  
 Samuel Wells.....1856-1857  
 H. Hamlin (resigned).... 1857  
 J. H. Williams (acting)..1857-1858  
 Lot M. Morrill.....1858-1861  
 Israel Washburn, Jr.....1861-1863  
 Abner Coburn.....1863-1864  
 Samuel Cony.....1864-1867  
 J. L. Chamberlain.....1867-1871  
 Sidney Perham.....1871-1874  
 Nelson Dingley, Jr.....1874-1876  
 Selden Connor.....1876-1879  
 Alonzo Garcelon.....1879-1880  
 Daniel F. Davis.....1880-1881  
 Harris M. Plaisted.....1881-1883  
 Frederick Robie.....1883-1887  
 Joseph R. Bodwell..... 1887  
 Sebastian S. Marble.....1887-1889  
 Edwin C. Burleigh.....1889-1893  
 Henry C. Cleaves.....1893-1897  
 Llewellyn Powers .....1897-1901  
 John F. Hill.....1901-1905  
 William T. Cobbe.....1905—

*Maine*: blown up, IV. 1645  
 Malden: besieged by Hull, II. 732  
 Malietoa: Samoan chief, IV. 1578  
 Mallory, Congressman: reports Woolen Bill, II. 822  
 Mallory, Stephen: Confederate Secretary of War, III. 1143  
 Malvern Hill: battle of, III. 1243  
 Manassas, Battle of: see Bull Run, Battle of  
 Mangum, William Person: supported by South Carolina, II. 884  
 Manhattan Island: purchased from Indians, I. 181; colonial population of, I. 185  
 Manila: captured by Americans, IV. 1652  
 Manila Bay: battle of, IV. 1652  
 Manners and Customs: dress of Washington at inauguration, II. 605; Presidential etiquette of Washington, II. 656; dress of Jefferson, II. 677; rude sports of frontier life, II. 830; period of social and intellectual transition, II. 838; scene at Jackson's inauguration reception, II. 842  
 Manning, Daniel: Secretary of the Treasury, IV. 1541, note  
 Mansfield, Joseph King Fenno: killed at Antietam, III. 1249  
 Mansfield, William, Lord: opposes repeal of Stamp Act, I. 363; favors the "intolerable" Acts, I. 375  
 Mantanzas: bombardment, IV. 1651  
 Manua Islands: annexed to the United States, IV. 1662  
 Manufacture: in New England, I. 230; Hamilton's plans for its protection, II. 628; growth of, under shipping embargo, II. 767; American compared with British, II. 768; demands for protection of, II. 821; resource of the North, III. 1185  
 Marblehead: becomes the port of entry for Massachusetts, I. 375  
*Marblehead*: United States vessel, IV. 1698  
 Marbois, François: in purchase of Louisiana, II. 695  
 Marcy, William Learned: Secretary of State, III. 1042; instructs ministers abroad as to dress, III. 1062; demands release of Koszta, III. 1065



Maria Theresa: accession of, I. 280  
*Maria Theresa*: in battle of Santiago, IV. 1654  
 Marietta, Georgia: Johnston entrenched on Kenesaw Mountain at, III. 1307  
 Marietta, Ohio: founded, II. 570, 645  
 Marion, Francis: sketch of, II. 490  
 Markham, William: first Governor of Pennsylvania, I. 198  
 Marlow, Christopher: his "Faust," I. 64  
 Marquette, Jacques: sent to explore America, I. 91  
 Marriage Laws: among the Aztecs, I. 10  
 Marshall, —: discovers gold in California, III. 1002  
 Marshall, John: elevates the legal profession, I. 237; graduates from College of William and Mary, I. 242; member of Virginia ratifying convention, II. 598; sent to Paris by Washington, II. 660; announces Washington's death to Congress, II. 671; Chief Justice, II. 687; acquits Aaron Burr, II. 709; domination of Supreme Court, II. 765; death, III. 1089  
 Martin, Luther: refuses to sign the Constitution, II. 594; opposes the ratification of the Constitution by Maryland, II. 597; absent from first Congress, II. 609  
 Martinique: restored to France by Treaty of Paris, I. 336  
 Marye's Heights: occupied by Lee at Fredericksburg, III. 1259  
 Maryland: founded, I. 125; first representative assembly introduced (1647), I. 211; Catholics denied franchise, I. 254; Church of England established, I. 256; ratifies Articles of Confederation, II. 548; insists on the ceding of Northwest Territory, II. 568; commissioners appointed to decide Potomac commercial policy, II. 573; Annapolis Convention, II. 574; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; ratifies the Constitution, II. 597; opposes financial plans of Hamilton, II. 621; rank as to population, II. 834; abolition societies formed, III. 968; State elections of 1855, III. 1072; Presidential election of 1856,

III. 1086; Sixth Massachusetts attacked by mob in Baltimore, III. 1171; excitement over transportation of troops through, III. 1172; Confederate attempts to win adhesion of, III. 1178; trouble over suspension of *habeas corpus*, III. 1203; Lee's army enters, III. 1246; alarm over Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, III. 1275; Sheridan saves, from invasion, III. 1303; Presidential election of 1896, IV. 1636; Presidential election of 1900, IV. 1671; Presidential election of 1904, IV. 1714

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

Leonard Calvert.....1637-1647  
 Thomas Greene .....1647-1648  
 William Stone .....1648-1654  
 William Stone .....1654-1658  
 Josias Fendall .....1658-1660  
 Philip Calvert .....1660-1662  
 Charles Calvert .....1662-1676  
 Thomas Notley .....1677-1680  
 Charles, Lord Baltimore..1681-1689  
 John Coode and the Protestant Association.....1690-1692  
 Sir Lionel Copley.....1692-1693  
 Francis Nicholson .....1694-1695  
 Nathaniel Blackstone ....1696-1702  
 Thomas Trench .....1703-1704  
 John Seymour .....1704-1708  
 Edward Lloyd .....1709-1713  
 John Hart .....1714-1715  
 John Hart .....1715-1719  
 Charles Calvert .....1720-1726  
 Benedict L. Calvert.....1727-1730  
 Samuel Ogle .....1731-1732  
 Charles, Lord Baltimore..1732-1733  
 Samuel Ogle .....1734-1741  
 Thomas Bladen .....1742-1745  
 Samuel Ogle .....1746-1751  
 Benjamin Tasker ..... 1752  
 Horatio Sharpe .....1753-1768  
 Robert Eden .....1769-1774

## STATE GOVERNORS

Thomas Johnson .....1777-1779  
 Thomas Sim Lee.....1780-1782  
 William Paca .....1783-1784  
 William Smallwood .....1785-1788  
 John E. Howard.....1789-1790  
 George Plater .....1791-1792



- Thomas Sim Lee.....1793-1794  
 John H. Stone.....1795-1797  
 John Henry ..... 1798  
 Benjamin Ogle .....1799-1801  
 John F. Mercer.....1802-1803  
 Robert Bowie .....1804-1805  
 Robert Wright .....1806-1808  
 Edward Lloyd .....1809-1810  
 Robert Bowie .....1811-1812  
 Levin Winder .....1813-1814  
 Charles Ridgely .....1815-1817  
 Charles W. Goldsborough...1818-1819  
 Samuel Sprigg .....1820-1822  
 Samuel Stevens, Jr.....1823-1825  
 Joseph Kent .....1826-1828  
 Daniel Martin ..... 1829  
 Thomas K. Carroll..... 1830  
 Daniel Martin .....1831  
 George Howard .....1831-1832  
 James Thomas .....1833-1835  
 Thomas W. Veazey.....1836-1838  
 William Grayson .....1839-1841  
 Francis Thomas .....1842-1844  
 Thomas J. Pratt.....1845-1847  
 Philip F. Thomas.....1848-1850  
 Enoch L. Lowe.....1851-1855  
 Thomas W. Ligon.....1856-1857  
 Thomas H. Hicks.....1858-1861  
 Augustus W. Bradford...1862-1864  
 Thomas Swann .....1865-1867  
 Oden Bowie .....1868-1871  
 W. P. Whyte.....1872-1874  
 James B. Groome..... 1875  
 John Lee Carroll.....1876-1879  
 William T. Hamilton....1880-1883  
 Robert M. McLane.....1884-1887  
 Elihu E. Jackson.....1888-1891  
 Frank Brown .....1892-1896  
 Lloyd Lowndes .....1896-1900  
 J. Walter Smith.....1900-1904  
 Edwin Warfield .....1904—
- Mason, George: draws up bill of rights  
 for constitution of Virginia, I. 412,  
 III. 959; refuses to sign the Con-  
 stitution, II. 594; member of Vir-  
 ginia ratification committee, II. 598  
 Mason, James Murray: appointed Con-  
 federate representative at London,  
 III. 1188  
 Mason, John: defeats Pequots, I. 169;  
 receives grant with Gorges, I. 172;  
 claims of heirs, I. 173  
 Mason, John Young: reads Calhoun's  
 last speech, III. 1014; quoted on  
 value of escaped slaves, III. 1033;  
 minister to France, III. 1043; Os-  
 tend Manifesto, III. 1047; chairman  
 of Senate committee to investigate  
 John Brown's raid, III. 1113  
 Mason and Dixon's Line: ends boundary  
 dispute, I. 197  
 Masonic Order: and the William Morgan  
 charge, II. 866  
 Massachusetts: Gosnold explores the  
 coast, I. 100; under council for New  
 England, I. 156; Charles I. charters,  
 I. 157; charter transferred to New  
 England, I. 158; "Salem witch-  
 craft," I. 164; aids Connecticut set-  
 tlement, I. 165; absorbs New Hamp-  
 shire, I. 172; absorbs Maine, I. 173;  
 New England Confederation, I. 174;  
 status of, in New England Confed-  
 eration, I. 174; boundary enlarged,  
 I. 179; end of confusion of civil and  
 religious rights in, I. 179; charter  
 changed (1691), I. 205; powers of  
 the General Court, I. 208; first rep-  
 resentative assembly introduced  
 (1634), I. 211; Franklin acts as  
 agent to England, I. 214; early anti-  
 slavery agitation, I. 225; Scotch-  
 Irish manufacture linens, I. 230;  
 evades Sugar Act, I. 231; fishery in-  
 dustry, I. 231; rum trade (1750),  
 I. 232; Harvard College and public  
 schools established, I. 239; religious  
 intolerance in, I. 253; Congrega-  
 tional Church supported by taxation,  
 I. 254; suffrage laws, as a colony,  
 I. 254; establishes a postal system,  
 I. 263; dress regulated by law, I.  
 265; blasphemy made a capital of-  
 fense, I. 269; in Colonial Congress,  
 I. 271; equips Louisburg expedition,  
 I. 281; passes resolutions setting  
 forth rights of the colonists, I. 366;  
 Boston Massacre, I. 368; Boston Tea  
 Party, I. 373; English Parliament  
 passes the five "intolerable" Acts,  
 I. 375; appoints place of meeting for  
 first Continental Congress, I. 378;  
 Regulating Act impossible of en-  
 forcement, I. 383; adopts a constitu-  
 tion of government, I. 412; suffers  
 from paper currency craze, II. 566;

cedes Northwest Territory, II. 568; appoints delegates for Annapolis Convention, II. 574; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; ratifies the Constitution, II. 597; favors financial plans of Hamilton, II. 621; attitude toward War of 1812, II. 759; volunteer service in War of 1812, II. 759; Hartford Convention, II. 760; approves resolutions of Hartford Convention, II. 762; protection question, II. 822; supports Webster for Presidency, II. 884; Presidential election of 1848, III. 953; abolition of slavery, III. 958; failure of Fugitive Slave Law, III. 1031; Presidential election of 1854, III. 1071; State election of 1855, III. 1072; Emigrant-Aid Society organized, III. 1073; Sixth Massachusetts attacked by mob in Baltimore, III. 1171; Boston fire (1872), IV. 1471; Presidential election of 1904, IV. 1714

## GOVERNORS OF PLYMOUTH COLONY

John Carver .....1620-1621  
 William Bradford .....1621-1633  
 Edward Winslow .....1633-1634  
 Thomas Prince.....1634-1635  
 William Bradford .....1635-1636  
 Edward Winslow .....1636-1637  
 William Bradford .....1637-1638  
 Thomas Prince.....1638-1639  
 William Bradford .....1639-1644  
 Edward Winslow .....1644-1645  
 William Bradford .....1645-1657  
 Thomas Prince.....1657-1673  
 Josiah Winslow .....1673-1681  
 Thomas Hinckley .....1681-1686  
 Sir Edmund Andros, Gov.  
   Gen. ....1686-1689  
 Thomas Hinckley .....1689-1692

## GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

John Endicott (acting)...1629-1630  
 Matthew Cradock (did not serve)  
 John Winthrop .....1630-1634  
 Thomas Dudley .....1634-1635  
 John Haynes .....1635-1636  
 Henry Vane .....1636-1637

John Winthrop .....1637-1640  
 Thomas Dudley .....1640-1641  
 Richard Bellingham .....1641-1642  
 John Winthrop .....1642-1644  
 John Endicott .....1644-1645  
 Thomas Dudley .....1645-1646  
 John Winthrop.. .....1646-1649  
 John Endicott .....1649-1650  
 Thomas Dudley .....1650-1651  
 John Endicott .....1651-1654  
 Richard Bellingham .....1654-1655  
 John Endicott .....1655-1665  
 Richard Bellingham .....1665-1673  
 John Leverett .....1673-1679  
 Simon Bradstreet .....1679-1684  
 Jos. Dudley, pres.....1684-1686  
 Sir Edmund Andros, Gov.  
   Gen. ....1686-1689  
 Thomas Danforth (acting), 1689-1692  
 Sir William Phipps.....1692-1694  
 Wm. Stoughton (acting)..1694-1699  
 Richard Coote, Earl of  
   Bellomont .....1699-1700  
 Wm. Stoughton (acting)..1700-1701  
 The Council .....1701-1702  
 Joseph Dudley.....1702-Feb., 1715  
 The Council.....Feb.-Mar., 1715  
 Joseph Dudley.....Mar.-Nov., 1715  
 Wm. Tailer (acting).....1715-1716  
 Samuel Shute .....1716-1723  
 Wm. Dummer (acting)...1723-1728  
 Wm. Burnet .....July-Sept., 1728  
 Wm. Dummer (acting)  
   Sept., 1728-June, 1730  
 Wm. Tailer (acting), June-Aug, 1730  
 Jona. Belcher .....Aug., 1730-1741  
 William Shirley .....1741-1749  
 Spencer Phipps (acting)...1749-1753  
 William Shirley .....1753-1756  
 Spencer Phipps (acting)...1756-1757  
 The Council.....Apr.-Aug., 1757  
 Thomas Pownal .....1757-1760  
 Thomas Hutchinson (acting)  
   June-Aug., 1760  
 Sir Francis Bernard, Bart., 1760-1769  
 Thomas Hutchinson (acting)  
   1769-1771  
 Thomas Hutchinson .....1771-1774  
 Thomas Gage.....May-Oct., 1774  
 A Provincial Congress,  
   Oct., 1774-July, 1775  
 The Council.....July, 1775-1780

## STATE GOVERNORS

- John Hancock .....1780-1785  
 James Bowdoin .....1785-1787  
 John Hancock.....1787-Oct., 1793  
 Samuel Adams (acting)  
     Oct., 1793-1794  
 Samuel Adams .....1794-1797  
 Increase Sumner...1797-June, 1799  
 Moses Gill (acting), June, 1799-1800  
 Caleb Strong .....1800-1807  
 Jas. Sullivan.....1807-Dec., 1808  
 Levi Lincoln (act.) Dec., 1808-1809  
 Christopher Gore .....1809-1810  
 Elbridge Gerry .....1810-1812  
 Caleb Strong .....1812-1816  
 John Brooks .....1816-1823  
 Wm. Eustis.....1823-Feb., 1825  
 Marcus Morton (acting)  
     Feb.,-July, 1825  
 Levi Lincoln .....1825-1834  
 John Davis.....1834-Mar., 1835  
 Samuel T. Armstrong (acting)  
     Mar., 1835-1836  
 Edward Everett .....1836-1840  
 Marcus Morton .....1840-1841  
 John Davis .....1841-1843  
 Marcus Morton .....1843-1844  
 George N. Briggs.....1844-1851  
 George S. Boutwell.....1851-1853  
 John H. Clifford.....1853-1854  
 Emory Washburn .....1854-1855  
 Henry J. Gardner.....1855-1858  
 Nathaniel P. Banks.....1858-1861  
 John A. Andrew.....1861-1866  
 Alexander H. Bullock....1866-1869  
 William Claflin .....1869-1872  
 William B. Washburn,  
     1872-May, 1874  
 Thomas Talbot (act.) May-Dec., 1874  
 William Gaston .....1874-1876  
 Alexander H. Rice.....1876-1879  
 Thomas Talbot .....1879-1880  
 John D. Long.....1880-1883  
 Benjamin F. Butler.....1883-1884  
 George D. Robinson.....1884-1887  
 Oliver Ames .....1887-1890  
 John Q. A. Brockett.....1890-1891  
 William E. Russell.....1891-1894  
 Frederick T. Greenhalge...1894-1896  
 Roger Wolcott .....1896-1900  
 Milliam Murray Crane....1900-1902  
 John Lewis Bates.....1902-1904
- William L. Douglas.....1904-1906  
 Curtis Guild, Jr.....1906—
- Massachusetts Regiment, Eighth: garri-  
 sons Washington, III. 1190  
 Massachusetts Regiment, Sixth: attacked  
 by mob in Baltimore, III. 1171  
 Massasoit: treaty with Pilgrims, I.  
 153; grants land to Providence, I.  
 170  
 Massillon, Ohio: Coxey's army formed at,  
 IV. 1615  
 Mataafa: Samoan chief, IV. 1678  
 Matamoras: battle near, III. 934; Mexi-  
 can troops mobilized at, III. 934;  
 under military rule, III. 936  
 Mather, Cotton: notable divine, I. 239;  
 early American author, I. 245;  
 quoted on tolerance of Rhode Island,  
 I. 253  
 Mather, Increase: sent to England, I.  
 179; notable divine, I. 239  
 Mathews, Stanley: joins liberal move-  
 ment, IV. 1454; supports Hayes,  
 IV. 1490; member of the Senate,  
 IV. 1491  
 Maumee River: Wayne's victory on, II.  
 647  
 Maximilian (Ferdinand Maximilian  
 Joseph): in French occupation of  
 Mexico, IV. 1431; executed, IV.  
 1435  
 May, Cornelius: first Governor of Dutch,  
 I. 181  
 May, Samuel J.; member of Ameri-  
 can Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973;  
 heads negro rescue at Syracuse, III.  
 1031  
 Mayas: found in Mexico, I. 9  
*Mayflower*: brings Pilgrims from South-  
 ampton, I. 150  
 Maysville Road: national pike vetoed by  
 Jackson, II. 852  
 Meade, Bishop: complains of his clergy,  
 I. 259  
 Meade, George Gordon: succeeds Hooker,  
 III. 1275; sketch of, III. 1275; fails  
 to follow Lee's retreat, III. 1283  
 Mechanicsville: Confederate defeat at,  
 III. 1242; McClellan's complaint be-  
 fore battle of, III. 1244  
 Medical Profession: in the colonies, I.  
 237

Menendez de Aviles, Pedro: destroys French colony on the St. John's, I. 84

Memminger, Christopher Gustavus: Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, III. 1143

Memphis: convention at (1853), III. 992; captured by Federals, III. 1221; Halleck's victory at, III. 1244; Sherman embarks at, III. 1268; yellow fever epidemic, IV. 1501

Memphis & Charleston Railroad: Federals gain control of, III. 1220

Mercer, Fort: captured by British, II. 460

Mercer, Hugh: killed at battle of Princeton, II. 443

*Merrimac*: Confederate ironclad, III. 1228; destroys the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, III. 1231; naval duel with *Monitor*, III. 1232; burned by Confederates, III. 1236

*Merrimac*: sunk by Hobson, IV. 1653

Merrimac River: boundary of grant to Gorges and Mason, I. 172

Merry, Spanish minister: Burr's correspondence with, II. 710

Merryman Case, III. 1348

Merrymount: character of settlement, I. 154

Metal Age, I. 8

Methodists: divide into Northern and Southern wings, III. 1015

Mexican War: cause, III. 931; war declared by Congress, III. 935; summary of, III. 946; opposed by Lincoln, III. 1101; Lee's service in, III. 1241; Burnside serves in, III. 1258; Bragg a leader in, III. 1264; Meade's service in, III. 1275; Lee and Grant in, III. 1340; Hancock's service in, IV. 1510

Mexico: description of Indians found in, I. 9; discovered, I. 68; Cortes conquers, I. 69; rebels against Spain, II. 780; neutrality toward, II. 891; becomes a republic, III. 915; refuses to sell Texas, III. 915; slavery abolished, III. 915; prepares for war with United States, III. 931; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, III. 945; Gadsden Treaty, III. 1066; occupied by French, IV. 1430; settlement of

disputes with United States, IV. 1691; arbitration treaty with United States, IV. 1719

Mexico, City of: besieged by Cortes, I. 70; rebuilt, I. 70; captured by Americans, III. 940

Michigan: mounds of the Mound Builders in, I. 8; part of Massachusetts, II. 568; negro rescues, III. 1031; first Republican Convention held at Jackson, III. 1069; opposes negro suffrage, IV. 1408; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), IV. 1536; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1598

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

William Hull.....1805-1813  
Lewis Cass.....1813-1831  
George B. Porter.....1831-1834  
S. T. Mason, ex officio.....1834-1835

#### STATE GOVERNORS

Stevens T. Mason.....1835-1840  
William Woodbridge.....1840-1841  
J. Wright Gordon (acting), 1841-1842  
John S. Barry.....1843-1845  
Alpheus Fitch.....1846-1847  
Wm. L. Greenly (acting). 1847  
Epaphroditus Ransom....1848-1849  
John S. Barry.....1850-1851  
Robert McClelland.....1852-1853  
Andrew Parsons (acting), 1853-1854  
Kingsley S. Bingham....1855-1858  
Moses Wisner.....1859-1860  
Austin Blair.....1861-1864  
Henry H. Crapo.....1865-1868  
Henry P. Baldwin.....1869-1872  
John J. Bagley.....1873-1877  
Charles M. Croswell.....1877-1881  
David H. Jerome.....1881-1883  
Josiah W. Begole.....1883-1885  
R. A. Alger.....1885-1887  
Cyrus G. Luce.....1887-1891  
Edwin B. Winans.....1891-1893  
John T. Rich.....1893-1897  
Hazen S. Pingree.....1897-1901  
Aaron T. Bliss.....1901-1905  
Fred M. Warner.....1905—

Middletown: settled, I. 192

Mifflin: captured by British, II. 460

Mifflin, Thomas: plots against Washington, II. 462

Milan Decree: issued, II. 714



Miles, Nelson Appleton: in Porto Rico, IV. 1658; the "embalmed beef" scandal, IV. 1663  
 Militia: President's power to call, established, II. 648  
 Miller, Samuel Freeman: member of the Electoral Commission, IV. 1486, note  
 "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," II. 661  
 Mills, Roger Quarles: introduces tariff revision bill, IV. 1560  
 Mills Bill, The: in Democratic platform, 1888, IV. 1562  
 Mill Spring: Confederates hold, III. 1207  
 Milwaukee: branch of the Whisky Ring, IV. 1460  
 Minesota Mine, I. 9.  
 Minneapolis: Republican Convention (1892), IV. 1594  
 Minnesota affected by Missouri Compromise, II. 797; admitted, III. 1097; opposes negro suffrage, IV. 1408; in election, 1904, IV. 1714

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Alexander Ramsey.....1849-1853  
 Willis A. Gorman.....1853-1857  
 Samuel Medary.....1857-1858

## STATE GOVERNORS

Henry H. Sibley.....1858-1860  
 Alexander Ramsey.....1860-1864  
 Stephen Miller.....1864-1866  
 William R. Marshall.....1866-1870  
 Horace Austin.....1870-1874  
 Cushman K. Davis.....1874-1876  
 John S. Pillsbury.....1876-1882  
 Lucius F. Hubbard.....1882-1887  
 Andrew R. McGill.....1887-1889  
 William R. Merriam.....1889-1892  
 Knute Nelson.....1892-1895  
 David M. Clough.....1895-1899  
 John Lind.....1899-1901  
 Samuel R. Van Sant.....1901-1905  
 John A. Johnson.....1905—

Minuit, Peter: Governor of Dutch, I. 181; purchases Manhattan Island from Indians, I. 181; founds Wilmington, I. 190  
 Minute-men: organized, I. 383; at battle of Lexington and Concord, I. 384  
 Miquelon: retained by France in Treaty of Paris, I. 336

Miramón, Miguél: head of church party in Mexico, IV. 1430  
 Missionary Ridge: Confederates occupy, III. 1287; Sherman sent to take, III. 1287  
 Mission Conception: battle of, III. 916  
 Missions: see Christianity  
 Mississippi: admitted, II. 776, 790; slave State, II. 790; included in land ceded by Georgia, II. 818; makes judiciary elective, II. 838; separated from Georgia, III. 963; first legal execution, III. 986; protests against exclusion of slavery from territories, III. 1023; senators advocate secession, (1850), III. 1025; movement toward invasion of Cuba, III. 1068; military appropriation following John Brown's raid, III. 1115; delegates withdraw from Democratic Convention, III. 1119; secession, III. 1131; operations of Civil War in northern part of, III. 1264; surrender of Confederate forces, III. 1345; prohibitions against freedmen, III. 1387; under military rule, III. 1393; readmitted, III. 1394; Presidential election of 1868, IV. 1411; sends "carpet-bag" representatives to Congress, IV. 1414; readmitted to representation, IV. 1415; reconstruction effects, IV. 1417; end of "carpet-bag" rule, IV. 1427; negro franchise, IV. 1427; yellow fever epidemic, IV. 1501

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Winthrop Sargent.....1798-1802  
 Wm. C. C. Claiborne.....1802-1805  
 Robert Williams.....1805-1809  
 David Holmes.....1809-1817

## STATE GOVERNORS

David Holmes.....1817-1819  
 George Poindexter.....1819-1821  
 Walter Leake.....1821-1825  
 David Holmes.....1825-1827  
 Gerard C. Brandon.....1827-1831  
 Abraham M. Scott.....1831-1833  
 Hiram G. Runnels.....1833-1835  
 Charles Lynch.....1835-1837  
 Alexander G. McNutt.....1837-1841  
 Tilgham M. Tucker.....1841-1843



Albert G. Brown.....1843-1848  
 Joseph W. Matthews.....1848-1850  
 John A. Quitman.....1850-1851  
 John I. Guion (acting).... 1851  
 James Whitfield.....1851-1852  
 Henry S. Foote.....1852-1854  
 John J. McRae.....1854-1858  
 William McWillie.....1858-1860  
 John J. Pettus.....1860-1862  
 Jacob Thompson.....1862-1864  
 Charles Clarke.....1864-1865  
 W. L. Sharkey (prov'l)....1865-1866  
 Benj. G. Humphreys.....1866-1870  
 James L. Alcorn.....1870-1871  
 Ridgley C. Powers.....1871-1874  
 Adelbert Ames.....1874-1876  
 John M. Stone.....1876-1882  
 Robert Lowry.....1882-1890  
 John M. Stone.....1890-1896  
 Anselm J. McLaurin.....1896-1900  
 A. H. Longino.....1900-1904  
 James K. Vardaman.....1904—

Mississippi River: DeSoto crosses, I. 77;  
 navigation of, disputed, II. 573;  
 navigation privileges secured, II.  
 642; right of navigating, II. 694;  
 Treaty of Ghent, II. 757

Mississippi Valley: explored by French,  
 I. 91; development of, II. 776

Missouri: seeks admission, II. 776, 791,  
 964; bill to admit, II. 792; dispute  
 over constitution, II. 796; organized  
 as a territory, III. 964; Blue Lodges  
 organized, III. 1074; interferes with  
 election in Kansas, III. 1074; Presi-  
 dential election of 1860, III. 1126;  
 Confederate attempts to win adhesion  
 of, III. 1178; operations of 1861-  
 1862, III. 1205; Frémont places un-  
 der martial law, III. 1206; Liberal  
 Republican Movement originates in,  
 IV. 1454; railroad strikes (1877),  
 IV. 1495; Mormons migrate to, IV.  
 1584; Presidential election of 1904,  
 IV. 1714

## GOVERNORS

Alexander McNair .....1820-1824  
 Frederick Bates .....1824-1826  
 John Miller .....1826-1832  
 Daniel Dunklin .....1832-1836  
 Lilburn W. Boggs.....1836-1840  
 Thomas Reynolds .....1840-1844

M. M. Marmaduke (acting) 1844  
 John C. Edwards.....1844-1848  
 Austin A. King.....1848-1853  
 Sterling Price .....1853-1857  
 Truett Polk ..... 1857  
 Hancock Jackson (acting) 1857  
 Robert M. Stewart.....1857-1861  
 Claiborne F. Jackson.... 1861  
 Hamilton R. Gamble....1861-1864  
 Willard P. Hall.....1864-1865  
 Thomas C. Fletcher.....1865-1869  
 Joseph W. McClurg.....1869-1871  
 Benj. Gratz Brown.....1871-1873  
 Silas Woodson .....1873-1875  
 Charles H. Hardin.....1875-1877  
 John S. Phelps.....1877-1881  
 Thomas T. Crittenden....1881-1885  
 John S. Marmaduke.....1885-1887  
 A. P. Morehouse (acting).1887-1889  
 David R. Francis.....1889-1893  
 William J. Stone.....1893-1897  
 Lou V. Stephens.....1897-1901  
 Alex. M. Dockery.....1901-1905  
 Joseph W. Folk.....1905—

Missouri Compromise: account of, II.  
 788, 965; adopted, II. 796; effects  
 on North and South, II. 797; at-  
 tempt to repeal it, III. 1052; de-  
 clared unconstitutional by Taney's  
 decision, III. 1091; modified by  
 Kansas-Nebraska Act, III. 1092

Mobile, Alabama: Confederate strong-  
 hold, III. 1318

Mobile Bay: Farragut's victory in, III.  
 1314; political effect of victory, III.  
 1322

Modoc Indians: at war with the United  
 States, IV. 1473

Mohican Indians: treaty with Ply-  
 mouth, I. 165

Molino del Rey: battle of, III. 940

Mollie Maguires, The, IV. 1493

Monckton, Robert: victories of, over  
 English, I. 308

Monitor: described, III. 1232; naval  
 duel with *Merrimac*, III. 1232

Monmouth: battle of, II. 465

Monocacy: Federal defeat at, III.  
 1299

Monongahela River: bounds French  
 claims, I. 288

Monroe, James (1758-1831), President  
 of the United States, 1817-1825;

- graduates from College of William and Mary, I. 242; member of Virginia ratification committee, II. 598; recalled from France, II. 659; appointed to act in Louisiana Purchase, II. 695; envoy to Great Britain, II. 716; candidate for Presidency, II. 721; nominated for President, II. 764; sketch of, II. 765; veto on Cumberland Road, II. 774; advocates protective tariff, II. 798; sentiment prevents unanimous reelection, II. 803; views on internal improvements, II. 852
- Monroe Doctrine: compared with Washington's farewell address, II. 652; account of, II. 783; status of, II. 787; French occupation of Mexico, IV. 1432, 1435; the Venezuelan affair, IV. 1609; in Republican platform (1904), IV. 1701; Roosevelt's conception of, IV. 1707, 1715, 1720
- Montana: affected by Missouri Compromise, II. 797; part of Northwest Territory, III. 1051; discovery of gold, IV. 1469; admitted to the Union, IV. 1591; Presidential election of 1900, IV. 1671
- TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS
- Sidney Egerton .....1864-1865  
Francis Meagher (acting)1865-1866  
Green Clay Smith.....1866-1869  
James M. Askley.....1869-1870  
Benjamin F. Potts.....1870-1882  
J. Schuyler Crosby.....1882-1884  
B. Platt Carpenter.....1884-1885  
Samuel T. Houser.....1885-1886  
Preston H. Leslie.....1886-1887  
Benj. F. White.....1887-1889
- STATE GOVERNORS
- Joseph K. Toole.....1889-1892  
John E. Rickards.....1893-1897  
Robert B. Smith.....1897-1901  
Joseph K. Toole.....1901—
- Montauk, Long Island: recuperation camp for soldiers established, IV. 1658
- Montcalm Gozon de Saint-Véran, Louis Joseph, Marquis de: made commander of French forces in America, I. 314; captures Fort William Henry, I. 317; defends Quebec, I. 327; death, I. 333
- Monterey, California: siege of, III. 936; a constitutional convention meets at, III. 1007
- Montesquieu, Baron de la Brède et de: his writings a source of United States Constitution, II. 586
- Montezuma: submits to Cortes, I. 69
- Montgomery, Alabama: first Confederate congress meets at, III. 1140; capital of Confederacy, III. 1142
- Montgomery, Richard: captures Montreal, I. 402; death, I. 406
- Monticello: home of Jefferson, II. 678, 720
- Montojo, Admiral: at battle of Manila Bay, IV. 1652
- Montreal: attempt to settle, I. 82; plan to attack, I. 272; failure of attack on, I. 273; in French claims, I. 288; surrenders to English, I. 335; captured by General Montgomery, I. 405
- Monts, Sieur de: makes settlements in America, I. 87
- Moore's Creek: battle of, I. 407
- Moravians: as American colonists, I. 220
- More, James: repels Tuscaroras, I. 136
- Morey Letter, The, IV. 1511
- Morgan, Daniel: estimate of, I. 401; in the Southern campaign, II. 504; at battle of Cowpens, II. 504; at battle of Guilford Court House, II. 506
- Morgan, William: and Masonic order, II. 866
- Mormons: account of, IV. 1584
- Morocco: immunity purchased from, II. 692
- Morris, Gouverneur: graduates from King's College, I. 240; in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; prepares final draft of Constitution, II. 594; plans a decimal system of currency, II. 626
- Morris, Lewis: buys books in London, I. 248
- Morris, Robert: made Superintendent of Finance, II. 533; career of, II. 564; in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; in first Congress, II. 606;

- offered office of Secretary of the Treasury, II. 610
- Morris Island: battery fires on *Star of the West*, III. 1158
- Morrison's Brigade: at siege of Fort Donelson, III. 1210
- Morristown, New Jersey: Washington establishes winter quarters at, II. 443
- Morton, J. Sterling: Secretary of Agriculture, IV. 1600, note
- Morton, Levi Parsons: nominated Vice President, IV. 1561
- Morton, Oliver Perry: war governor of Indiana, III. 1351; candidate for President (1876), IV. 1478; member of the electoral commission, IV. 1486, note; chairman of Chinese immigration committee, IV. 1498
- Morton, Thomas: names Merrymount, I. 154
- Mötley, John Lathrop: recalled as minister to England, IV. 1440
- Moultrie, Fort: attacked by English, I. 408
- Mound Builders, I. 7
- Mount Teneriffe: eruption of, frightens Columbus's crew, I. 53
- Mount Vernon: commerce commission meets at, II. 574; home of Washington, II. 602; Washington retires to, II. 650; Confederates seize arsenal, III. 1139
- Moya, Marchioness de: aids Columbus, I. 51
- Mugwumps: see Independents
- Muhlenberg, Frederick: in first Congress, II. 606
- Muhlenberg, John Peter Gabriel: in first Congress, II. 606
- Mumford, William B.: executed, III. 1227
- Munro, Colonel: surrenders Fort William Henry, I. 317
- Murfreesborough: battle of, III. 1266
- Murray, William Vans: minister to Holland, II. 664
- Muscovy Company: success of, I. 104; sends colonists to Virginia, I. 106
- Muskogean Indians: independent of other families, I. 10; location, I. 11
- Muskingum River: French claims of, I. 292
- N
- Nantes, Edict of: see Edict of Nantes
- Nantucket: fishery industry at outbreak of the Revolution, I. 230
- Naples: intervention of Austria, II. 782
- Napoleon I. (Bonaparte): concludes treaty, II. 664; cedes Louisiana, II. 695; defeated at Waterloo, II. 711; defeated at Trafalgar, II. 713; issues Berlin Decree, II. 713; issues Milan Decree, II. 714; issues Bayonne Decree, II. 718; issues Rambouillet Decree, II. 725; abdication of, II. 749
- Napoleon III.: in French occupation of Mexico, IV. 1431; proposes intervention in Civil War, IV. 1437
- Narragansett Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, I. 3; join King Philip's War, I. 175
- Narvaez, Pamfilo de: explores southern United States, I. 73
- Nashville: convention of 1850, III. 1024; Confederates abandon, III. 1212; battle of, III. 1326
- Nashville: fires first shot of Spanish-American War, IV. 1648; United States vessel, IV. 1698
- Natchez, Mississippi: prehistoric bones found at, I. 7
- National Bank: see United States Bank
- National Banking System: established, III. 1354
- National Republican Party: see Republican Party
- National Silver Party: convention in St. Louis (1896), IV. 1633
- Naturalization Act: Federalists enact, II. 664
- Naturalization, American: ignored by Great Britain, II. 714
- Nauvoo, Illinois: Mormon town founded, IV. 1584
- Navajo Indians: dependent on their herds, I. 20; famous for their necklaces and ear-pendants, I. 25; skillful in textile work, I. 26; present condition, I. 30
- Navy Island: seized in Canadian Insurrection, II. 891

- Navigation Acts: character of, I. 123; passed (1651), I. 346; evaded by Virginia colonists, I. 123; not rigidly enforced, I. 124; galling to Maryland colonists, I. 132; Randolph sent to enforce, I. 177; evaded I. 185; changes (1660), I. 344; George Grenville attempts to enforce I. 348
- Navy: Washington advises increase of, II. 660; reduced by Jefferson, II. 691, 715; insufficiency of, in War of 1812, II. 732; success of, in War of 1812, II. 734; development during Cleveland's administration, IV. 1621
- Navy, Department of the: created, II. 662
- Neale, Thomas: authorized to take charge of postal business of colonies, I. 263
- Nebraska: affected by Missouri Compromise, II. 797; bill for organizing, introduced in Congress, III. 1051; part of Northwest Territory, III. 1051; Presidential election of 1900, IV. 1671
- TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS
- Francis Burt.....1854  
T. B. Cuming (acting)...1851-1855  
Mark W. Izard.....1855-1858  
William A. Richardson.....1858  
J. S. Morton (acting)....1858-1859  
Samuel W. Black.....1859-1861  
Alvin Saunders.....1861-1866  
David Butler.....1866-1867
- STATE GOVERNORS
- David Butler.....1867-1871  
W. H. James (acting)...1871-1873  
Robert W. Furnos.....1873-1875  
Silas Garber.....1875-1879  
Albinus Nance.....1879-1883  
James W. Dawes.....1883-1887  
John M. Thayer.....1887-1891  
James E. Boyd.....1891-1893  
Lorenzo Crounse.....1893-1895  
Silas A. Holcomb.....1895-1899  
William A. Poynter.....1899-1901  
Charles H. Dietrich..... 1901  
Ezra P. Savage.....1901-1903  
John Mickey.....1903—
- Negroes: see Slavery
- Negro Plot, I. 228
- Nelson, Horatio, Viscount Nelson: victory at Trafalgar, II. 713
- Nelson, Samuel: in Joint High Commission, IV. 1446
- Nelson, William: organizes Kentucky troops, III. 1180
- Neolithic Age, I. 3
- Netherlands: commercial treaty with the United States, II. 617; king of, asked to decide Northeast Boundary Dispute, III. 911
- Neutral rights: in treaty of Ghent, II. 754
- Nevada: ceded to United States, III. 945; Presidential election of 1880, IV. 1511; Presidential election of 1900, IV. 1671
- TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR
- James W. Nye.....1861-1864
- STATE GOVERNORS
- Henry G. Blaisdell.....1864-1871  
Luther R. Bradley.....1871-1879  
John H. Kinkead.....1879-1883  
Jewett D. Adams.....1883-1887  
C. C. Stevenson.....1887-1891  
R. K. Colcord.....1891-1895  
John E. Jones.....1895-1896  
Reinhold Sadler .....1896-1903  
John Sparks .....1903—
- New Amsterdam: see New York City
- Newark, Ohio: settled by New Englanders, I. 192
- New Berne: massacre at, I. 136
- New Brunswick: boundary dispute with Maine, II. 890
- New England: explored and named by Capt. John Smith, I. 156; population at outbreak of the Revolution, I. 220; manufacturing and maritime industries, I. 230; shipbuilding, I. 231; literature and arts, I. 242; colonial newspapers, I. 248; Congregational church in every town, I. 249; social life, I. 267; opposition of, to War of 1812, II. 759; granted immunities in War of 1812, II. 760; immigration to Ohio from, II. 776; accepts high tariff on raw material, II. 825; condemns Bu-



- chanan's Kansas policy, III. 1107;  
enthusiastic reception of Lincoln's  
speeches, III. 1123
- New England Anti-Slavery Society: or-  
ganized, III. 973
- New England Confederation: forma-  
tion of, I. 173; articles of, I. 174;  
status of Massachusetts in, I. 174;  
dissolved, I. 174; decline of, after  
Restoration, I. 176
- New France: summary of, I. 92
- New Hampshire: Gosnold explores the  
coast, I. 100; origin, I. 172; first set-  
tlements, I. 172; discussions of, I.  
172; incorporated with Massachu-  
setts, I. 172; made separate royal  
province, I. 173; forms Vermont, I.  
173; colonial government of, I. 204;  
Scotch-Irish manufacture linens, I.  
230; educational growth, I. 240;  
Congregational Church supported  
by taxation, I. 254; aid in capture  
of Louisburg, I. 281; adopts a con-  
stitution of government, I. 411; quar-  
rel with New York over Vermont,  
II. 562; paper currency riots, II.  
568; disorders in colony, II. 573; ap-  
points delegates for Annapolis Con-  
vention, II. 574; chooses delegates  
for Constitutional Convention, II.  
575; ratifies the Constitution, II.  
597; opposes financial plans of  
Hamilton, II. 621; attitude toward  
War of 1812, II. 759; in Hartford  
Convention, II. 760; measures to-  
ward abolition of slavery adopted,  
III. 958; education of negroes pro-  
hibited, III. 973; State election of  
1855, III. 1072; Presidential election  
of 1892, IV. 1599

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

- Mesheck Weare.....1775-1785  
John Langdon.....1785-1786  
John Sullivan.....1786-1788  
John Langdon.....1788-1789  
John Sullivan.....1789-1790

## STATE GOVERNORS

- Josiah Bartlett.....1792-1794  
John Taylor Gilman.....1794-1805  
John Langdon.....1805-1809  
Jeremiah Smith.....1809-1810

- John Langdon.....1810-1812  
William Plumer.....1812-1813  
John Taylor Gilman.....1813-1816  
William Plumer .....1816-1819  
Samuel Bell.....1819-1823  
Levi Woodbury.....1823-1824  
David L. Morrill.....1824-1827  
Benjamin Pierce .....1827-1828  
John Bell .....1828-1829  
Benjamin Pierce .....1829-1830  
Matthew Harvey.....1830-1831  
Joseph M. Harper (acting) 1831  
Samuel Dinsmoor.....1831-1834  
William Badger.....1834-1836  
Isaac Hill .....1836-1839  
John Page.....1839-1842  
Henry Hubbard.....1842-1844  
John H. Steele.....1844-1846  
Anthony Colby.....1846-1847  
Jared W. Williams.....1847-1849  
Samuel Dinsmoor.....1849-1852  
Noah Martin.....1852-1854  
Nathaniel B. Baker.....1854-1855  
Ralph Metcalf.....1855-1857  
William Haile.....1857-1859  
Ichabod Goodwin.....1859-1861  
Nathaniel S. Berry.....1861-1863  
Joseph A. Gilmore.....1863-1865  
Frederick Smyth .....1865-1867  
Walter Harriman.....1867-1869  
Onslow Stearns.....1869-1871  
James A. Weston.....1871-1872  
Ezekiel A. Straw .....1872-1874  
James A. Weston.....1874-1875  
Person C. Cheney.....1875-1877  
Benjamin F. Prescott...1877-1879  
Nathaniel Head .....1879-1881  
Charles H. Bell.....1881-1883  
Samuel W. Hale.....1883-1885  
Moody Currier .....1885-1887  
Charles H. Sawyer.....1887-1889  
David H. Goodell.....1889-1891  
Hiram A. Tuttle.....1891-1893  
John B. Smith.....1893-1895  
Charles A. Busiel.....1895-1897  
George A. Ramsdell.....1897-1899  
Frank W. Rollins.....1899-1901  
Chester B. Jordan.....1901-1903  
Nahum J. Bachelder....1903-1905  
John McLane .....1905—
- New Haven: origin of, I. 166; included  
in Connecticut Charter, I. 169; in  
New England Confederation, I. 174;

Yale College founded at, I. 240; suffrage laws, I. 254  
 New Jersey: early history, I. 191; under jurisdiction of Andros, I. 177; statistics at outbreak of Revolution, I. 219; status of society at outbreak of the Revolution, I. 228; Princeton and Rutgers Colleges founded, I. 240; early churches, I. 255; Washington retreats across, II. 435; mutiny of soldiers (1781), II. 555; taxes lighthouse at Sandy Hook, II. 562; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; ratifies the Constitution, II. 596; measures for gradual emancipation adopted, III. 959; abolition societies formed, III. 908; Presidential election of 1856, III. 1086; Presidential election of 1860, III. 1126; opposes Lincoln's reelection, III. 1323; Presidential election of 1868, IV. 1412; Presidential election of 1876, IV. 1483; Presidential election of 1880, IV. 1511; Presidential election of 1884, IV. 1536; Presidential election of 1888, IV. 1565; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1598

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

Peter Minuit.....1624-1633  
 Wouter Van Twiller.....1633-1638  
 William Keift.....1638-1642  
 John Printz.....1642-1646  
 Peter Stuyvesant.....1646-1664  
 Philip Carteret.....1664-1674  
 Edmund Andros.....1674-1676  
 Philip Carteret.....1676-1682  
 Robert Barclay.....1682  
 Thomas Rudyard.....1682-1683  
 Gawen Lawrie .....1683-1686  
 Lord Neill Campbell....1686-1687  
 Andrew Hamilton.....1687-1688  
 Edmund Andros.....1688-1690  
 John Tatham .....1690-1691  
 Col. Joseph Dudley.....1691-1692  
 Andrew Hamilton.....1692-1698  
 Jeremiah Basse.....1698-1699  
 Andrew Bowne.....1699  
 Andrew Hamilton.....1699-1702  
 Edward Hyde, Lord Corn-  
   bury .....1702-1708  
 Lord Lovelace.....1708-1709

Richard Ingoldsby.....1709-1710  
 Robert Hunter.....1710-1720  
 William Burnett.....1720-1728  
 John Montgomery.....1728-1731  
 Lewis Morris.....1731-1732  
 William Crosby.....1732-1736  
 John Anderson.....1736  
 John Hamilton.....1736-1738  
 Lewis Morris.....1738-1746  
 John Hamilton.....1746  
 John Reading.....1746-1747  
 Jonathan Belcher .....1747-1751  
 John Reading.....1751-1758  
 Francis Bernard.....1758-1760  
 Thomas Boone.....1760-1761  
 Josiah Hardy.....1761-1763  
 William Franklin.....1763-1776

## STATE GOVERNORS

William Livingston.....1776-1790  
 William Patterson .....1790-1793  
 Richard Howell.....1793-1801  
 Joseph Bloomfield.....1801-1802  
 John Lambert (acting)..1802-1803  
 Joseph Bloomfield.....1803-1812  
 Aaron Ogden.....1812-1813  
 William S. Pennington...1813-1815  
 Mahlon Dickerson.....1815-1817  
 Isaac H. Williamson....1817-1829  
 Garret D. Wall (declined) 1829  
 Peter D. Vroom.....1829-1832  
 Samuel S. Southard.....1832-1833  
 Elias P. Seeley.....1833  
 Peter D. Vroom.....1833-1836  
 Philemon Dickerson.....1836-1837  
 William Pennington.....1837-1843  
 Daniel Haines .....1843-1845  
 Charles C. Stratton.....1845-1848  
 Daniel Haines .....1848-1851  
 George F. Fort.....1851-1854  
 Rodman M. Price.....1854-1857  
 William A. Newell.....1857-1860  
 Charles S. Olden.....1860-1863  
 Joel Parker.....1863-1866  
 Marcus L. Ward.....1866-1869  
 Theodore F. Randolph...1869-1872  
 Joel Parker.....1872-1875  
 Joseph D. Bedle.....1875-1878  
 George B. McClellan....1878-1881  
 George C. Ludlow.....1881-1884  
 Leon Abbett.....1884-1887  
 Robert S. Green.....1887-1890

George T. Werts.....1893-1896  
 John W. Griggs.....1896-1899  
 Foster M. Voorhees.....1899-1902  
 Franklin Murphy .....1902-1905  
 Edward C. Stokes.....1905- —

New Madrid, Missouri: captured, III. 1220

New Mexico: Kearny takes possession for the United States, III. 937; ceded to United States, III. 945; organized as a territory, III. 1008; boundary dispute with Texas in Compromise of 1850, III. 1011; refused admission, IV. 1689

## GOVERNORS

James S. Calhoun.....1851-1852  
 William C. Lane.....1852-1853  
 Solon Borland ..... 1853  
 David Merriwether .....1853-1857  
 Abraham Rencher .....1857-1861  
 Henry Connolly .....1861-1865  
 Robert B. Mitchell.....1865-1867  
 W. F. M. Army (acting)..1867-1869  
 William Pyle .....1869-1871  
 March Giddings .....1871-1876  
 Samuel B. Axtell.....1876-1878  
 Lewis Wallace .....1878-1881  
 Lionel A. Sheldon.....1881-1885  
 Edmund G. Ross.....1885-1889  
 L. Bradford Prince.....1889-1893  
 W. L. Thornton.....1893-1897  
 Miguel A. Otero.....1897—

New Netherlands: see New York

New Orleans: prehistoric skeleton found at, I. 7; in French claims, I. 288; ceded to Spain, I. 336; British plan to attack, II. 752; Jackson's defense of, II. 806; resolution of appropriation for painting to commemorate battle of, II. 827; population in time of Jackson, II. 835; outbreak against Spanish, III. 1044; Confederates seize United States mint, III. 1140; capture of, III. 1225; taxation rate following Reconstruction, IV. 1420; governorship contest in, IV. 1426, note; branch of the Whisky Ring, IV. 1461; outbreak of yellow fever epidemic (1878), IV. 1500; Cotton Centennial held at, IV. 1526; amount of mail for State Lottery received at,

IV. 1573; Italians lynched in, IV. 1576

New Panama Company: organized, IV. 1694

New Salem, Illinois: Lincoln made postmaster of, III. 1101

New Sweden: founded, I. 191

New Testament: see Bible

New York City: founded, I. 181; population at outbreak of the Revolution, I. 221; negro massacres (1711 and 1741), I. 228; becomes center of trade and commerce, I. 233; stage-line to Philadelphia established, I. 262; mails with Philadelphia established, I. 264; inauguration of Washington, II. 605; proposed for Capital, II. 621; population in time of Jackson, II. 834; becomes metropolis, II. 836; anti-slavery mass meeting, III. 1058; visit of Louis Kossuth, III. 1064; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; demonstration over fall of Richmond, III. 1339; draft riots, III. 1351; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1366; Democratic Convention (1868), IV. 1409; Tweed Ring, IV. 1464; centennial anniversary of the inauguration of the national government, IV. 1591

New York Regiment, Seventh: garrisons Washington, III. 1190

New York State: Champlain explores, I. 88; under jurisdiction of Andros, I. 177; exploration of Hudson, I. 180; settlements of Dutch, I. 181; struggle for liberty in, I. 183; surrendered to English, I. 185; secures liberal charter, I. 186; statistics at outbreak of Revolution, I. 219; patrol system, I. 227; peltry trade, I. 232; public schools and colleges established, I. 240; colonial newspapers, I. 248; Catholics denied franchise, I. 254; Dutch Reformed Church established, I. 254; Acts of 1700 and 1744 passed, I. 255; Episcopal Church established, I. 255; establishes a monthly mail between New York City and Boston, I. 263; in Colonial Congress, I. 271; Parliament suspends function of legisla-

ture (1767), I. 365; cedes to United States her claims to western lands, II. 549; quarrel with New Hampshire over Vermont, II. 562; taxes produce from New Jersey and Connecticut, II. 562; gives up claims to Northwest Territory, II. 568; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; rejects impost amendment to Articles of Confederation, II. 575; ratification of National Constitution, II. 598; rank as to population, II. 834; panic of 1837, II. 888; sympathizes in Canadian insurrection, II. 891; two delegations sent to Democratic Convention (1848), III. 948; election of 1848, III. 953; measures for gradual emancipation adopted, III. 959; abolition societies formed, III. 968; negro rescue at Syracuse (1851), III. 1031; Presidential election of 1854, III. 1071; State election of 1855, III. 1072; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, III. 1107; meeting of the Albany Democracy, III. 1349; Presidential election of 1868, IV. 1412; election of 1874, IV. 1464; Presidential election of 1876, IV. 1483; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), IV. 1535; Presidential election of 1884, IV. 1536; Presidential election of 1888, IV. 1565; Mormonism originates in, IV. 1584; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1598

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

Adrian Joris .....1623-1624  
Cornelius Jacobzen May..1624-1625  
William Verhulst .....1625-1626  
Peter Minuit .....1626-1633  
Wouter van Twiller.....1633-1638  
William Kieft .....1638-1647  
Peter Stuyvesant .....1647-1664  
Richard Nicolls .....1664-1668  
Francis Lovelace .....1668-1673  
Cornelius Evertse, Jr.... 1673  
Anthony Colve .....1673-1674  
Edmond Andros .....1674-1683  
Anthony Brockholles (Com-  
mander in Chief)....1677-1683  
Thomas Dongan .....1683-1688

Francis Nicholson (acting)  
1688-1689  
Jacob Leisler .....1689-1691  
Henry Sloughter ..... 1691  
Pickard Ingoldsby (Com-  
mander in Chief)....1691-1692  
Benjamin Fletcher .....1692-1698  
Earl of Bellomont.....1698-1701  
John Nanfan (acting)...1699-1701  
William Smith and Abra-  
ham de Peyster, Coun-  
cilors .....1701-1702  
Lord Cornbury .....1702-1708  
Lord Lovelace .....1708-1709  
Peter Schuyler (President) 1709  
Richard Ingoldsby (act.)..1709-1710  
Gerardus Beekman (Pres-  
ident) ..... 1710  
Robert Hunter .....1710-1719  
Peter Schuyler (Pres.)...1719-1720  
William Burnet .....1720-1728  
John Montgomerie .....1728-1731  
Rip van Dam (Pres.)....1731-1732  
William Cosby .....1732-1736  
George Clarke (acting)..1736-1743  
George Clinton .....1743-1753  
Danvers Osborne .....1753-1755  
James de Lancey (acting) , 1755  
Charles Hardy .....1755-1757  
James de Lancey (acting).1757-1760  
Cadwallader Colden (Pres-  
ident) .....1760-1761  
Robert Monckton ..... 1761  
Cadwallader Colden (act-  
ing) .....1761-1762  
Robert Monckton..... 1762  
Cadwallader Colden (act.), 1763-1765  
Henry Moore .....1765-1769  
Cadwallader Colden (act.), 1769-1770  
Earl of Dunmore.....1770-1771  
William Tryon.....1771-1774  
Cadwallader Colden.....1774-1775  
Peter van Brugh Livingston 1775  
William Tryon.....1775-1780  
James R. Robertson.....1780-1783  
Andrew Elliott (acting)... 1783

## STATE GOVERNORS

George Clinton.....1777-1795  
John Jay.....1795-1801  
George Clinton.....1801-1804  
Morgan Lewis.....1804-1807  
Daniel D. Tompkins.....1807-1817



- John Taylor (acting)..... 1817  
 DeWitt Clinton.....1817-1823  
 Joseph C. Yates.....1823-1825  
 DeWitt Clinton.....1825-1828  
 Nathaniel Pitcher (acting)1828-1829  
 Martin Van Buren..... 1829  
 Enos T. Throop.....1829-1833  
 William L. Marcy.....1833-1839  
 William H. Seward.....1839-1843  
 William C. Bouch.....1843-1845  
 Silas Wright.....1845-1847  
 John Young.....1847-1849  
 Hamilton Fish.....1849-1851  
 Washington Hunt.....1851-1853  
 Horatio Seymour.....1853-1855  
 Myron H. Clark.....1855-1857  
 John A. King.....1857-1859  
 Edwin D. Morgan.....1859-1863  
 Horatio Seymour.....1863-1865  
 Reuben E. Fenton.....1865-1869  
 John T. Hoffman.....1869-1873  
 John Adams Dix.....1873-1875  
 Samuel J. Tilden.....1875-1877  
 Lucius Robinson.....1877-1880  
 Alonzo B. Cornell.....1880-1883  
 Grover Cleveland.....1883-1885  
 David B. Hill (acting)...1885-1886  
 David B. Hill.....1886-1892  
 Roswell P. Flower.....1892-1895  
 Levi P. Morton.....1895-1896  
 Frank S. Black.....1896-1899  
 Theodore Roosevelt.....1899-1901  
 Benjamin B. Odell.....1901-1905  
 Frank W. Higgins.....1905—
- New York Trespass Act, II. 558  
 Newcastle, Henry Pelham Pelham Clinton, Duke of: unpopularity of his ministry, I. 318  
 Newfoundland: ceded to English, I. 278; fishery privileges granted to the United States, II. 777, IV. 1553; Hay-Bond Treaty proposed with, IV. 1720  
 Newport, Rhode Island: founded, I. 170; center of rum and negro trade, I. 232  
 Newport, Christopher: in command of Virginia settlers, I. 106; conference with Powhattan, I. 108  
 Newspapers: in the colonies, I. 247; influence of New York *Tribune*, III. 1318; suppressed during Civil War, III. 1350
- Niagara: expedition planned against, I. 301; captured by English, I. 325; given up by England, II. 640  
 Niagara, American frigate, II. 737  
 Niagara Falls: Whig demonstration (1852), III. 1037  
 Nicaragua: early negotiations concerning a canal, III. 1026; Walker attempts to form a republic in, III. 1045; canal treaty with the United States, IV. 1552; grants concession for canal construction, IV. 1692; failure of American construction company, IV. 1694  
 Nicholls, Francis T.: elected Governor of Louisiana, IV. 1426, note  
 Nicholson, Colonel: captures Port Royal, I. 276; burns fort near Lake Champlain, I. 278  
 Nicola, Colonel: invites Washington to assume dictatorship, II. 555  
 Nicolls, Sir Richard: sent with King's troops, I. 185  
 Nina: fitted out for Columbus, I. 52  
 Ninety-Six: battle of, II. 490; recaptured by Americans, II. 507  
 Ninth Virginia Regiment: loss at Gettysburg, III. 1283  
 Non-Intercourse Resolution: passed by first Continental Congress, I. 380  
 Noobka Sound Convention: III. 927  
 Norfolk, Virginia: burned (1775), I. 407; Confederates seize navy yard, III. 1139, 1174; evacuated, III. 1236  
 North, The: strength and resources, III. 1182; preparations for war, III. 1204; opposition to the Civil War, III. 1274, 1347; finances, III. 1352; cost of the war, III. 1355; effect of Lincoln's death, III. 1371  
 North, Frederick, Earl of Guilford: becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer, I. 365; resigns premiership, II. 515  
 North America: Cabot discovers, I. 63  
 North Anna River: Lee withdraws to, III. 1295  
 North Atlantic Squadron: at Key West, IV. 1651  
 North Carolina: first colony planted in, I. 133; united with South Carolina, I. 135; separated and made royal

province, I. 136, 141; Franklin acts as agent to England for, I. 214; Scotch-Irish settle in, I. 220; lumber and naval stores produced, I. 235; colonial newspapers, I. 248; Church of England established, I. 256; claims right of imposing taxes (1765), I. 355; battle of Alamance, I. 371; instructs her delegates to concur in a declaration of independence, I. 412; invaded by Cornwallis, II. 502; fails to pay her share of national government expenses (1781), II. 563; appoints delegates for Annapolis Convention, II. 574; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; ratifies the Constitution, II. 599; slavery regarded with disfavor, III. 959; cedes Tennessee to government, III. 963; abolition societies formed, III. 968; Confederates seize Forts Caswell and Macon, III. 1139; Confederates seize United States mint at Charlotte, III. 1140; secedes, III. 1175; provisional governor appointed, III. 1384; reconstruction, IV. 1420; Democrats regain control, IV. 1426; negro franchise, IV. 1427

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

William Drummond.....1663-1667  
 Samuel Stephens.....1667-1674  
 George Cartwright.....1674-1677  
 Thomas Miller (acting)...1677-1680  
 John Harvy (acting)..... 1680  
 John Jenkins.....1680-1681  
 Henry Wilkinson.....1681-1683  
 Seth Southwell (Sothel)..1683-1689  
 Philip Ludwell.....1689-1693  
 Alexander Lillington.....1693-1695  
 Thomas Harvey.....1695-1699  
 Henderson Walker.....1699-1704  
 Robert Daniel.....1704-1705  
 Thomas Cary.....1705-1706  
 William Glover (acting)..1706-1707  
 Thomas Cary (acting)...1707-1708  
 Thomas Cary and William Glover, contestants...1708-1710  
 Edward Hyde.....1710-1712  
 Thomas Pollock (acting)..1712-1714  
 Charles Eden.....1714-1722  
 Thomas Pollock (acting).. 1722

William Reed (acting)....1722-1724  
 George Burrington.....1724-1725  
 Edward Mosely (acting). 1725  
 Sir Richard Everard.....1725-1729

## UNDER THE CROWN

George Burrington.....1729-1734  
 Nathaniel Rice (acting).. 1734  
 Gabriel Johnston.....1734-1752  
 Nathaniel Rice (acting).. 1752  
 Matthew Rowan (acting).1752-1754  
 Arthur Dobbs.....1754-1765  
 William Tryon.....1765-1771  
 James Hazeel (acting)... 1771  
 Josiah Martin.....1771-1775

## STATE GOVERNORS

Richard Caswell.....1777-1779  
 Abner Nash.....1779-1781  
 Thomas Burke.....1781-1782  
 Alexander Martin.....1782-1784  
 Richard Caswell.....1784-1787  
 Samuel Johnston.....1787-1789  
 Alexander Martin.....1789-1792  
 Richard D. Spaight.....1792-1795  
 Samuel Ashe.....1795-1798  
 William R. Davie.....1798-1799  
 Benjamin Williams.....1799-1802  
 James Turner.....1802-1805  
 Nathaniel Alexander.....1805-1807  
 Benjamin Williams.....1807-1808  
 David Stone.....1808-1810  
 Benjamin Smith.....1810-1811  
 William Hawkins.....1811-1814  
 William Miller.....1814-1817  
 John Branch.....1817-1820  
 Jesse Franklin.....1820-1821  
 Gabriel Holmes.....1821-1824  
 Hutchings G. Burton....1824-1827  
 James Iredell.....1827-1828  
 John Owen.....1828-1830  
 Montford Stokes.....1830-1832  
 David L. Swain.....1832-1835  
 Richard D. Spaight, Jr...1835-1837  
 Edward B. Dudley.....1837-1841  
 John M. Morehead.....1841-1845  
 William A. Graham.....1845-1849  
 Charles Manly.....1849-1851  
 David S. Reid.....1851-1854  
 Warren Winslow (acting).1854-1855  
 Thomas Bragg.....1855-1859  
 John W. Ellis.....1859-1861  
 H. T. Clark (acting)....1861-1862

Zebulon B. Vance.....1862-1865  
 W. W. Holden (prov.).... 1865  
 Jonathan Worth.....1865-1868  
 William W. Holden.....1868-1872  
 Tod R. Caldwell.....1872-1874  
 Curtis H. Brogden.....1874-1877  
 Zebulon B. Vance.....1877-1881  
 Thomas J. Jarvis.....1881-1885  
 Alfred M. Scales.....1885-1889  
 Daniel G. Fowle.....1889-1891  
 Thomas M. Holt.....1891-1893  
 Elias Carr.....1893-1897  
 Daniel L. Russell.....1897-1901  
 Charles B. Aycock.....1901-1905  
 Robert B. Glenn.....1905- -

North Dakota: admitted to the Union,  
 IV. 1591; Presidential election of  
 1892, IV. 1599

## GOVERNORS

John Miller .....1889-1891  
 Andrew H. Burke.....1891-1893  
 Elmer C. D. Shortridge...1893-1895  
 Roger Allin .....1895-1897  
 Frank A. Briggs.....1897-1899  
 F. B. Fancher.....1899-1901  
 Frank White .....1901-1905  
 E. Y. Sarles.....1905—

North Mountain, III. 1303

Northcote, Sir Stafford: in Joint High  
 Commission, IV. 1446

Northeast Boundary Dispute: commis-  
 sion appointed to determine, II. 758;  
 settlement, III. 911

Northeastern Fisheries; controversy with  
 Great Britain, IV. 1553

Northern Pacific Railroad: United  
 States Supreme Court decision re-  
 specting, IV. 1571

Northfield: burned in King Philip's  
 War, I. 175

Northmen: visit America, I. 31

Northwest Boundary Dispute: III.  
 927; arbitrated by Emperor of Ger-  
 many, IV. 1447; United States  
 claims sustained, IV. 1450

Northwest Passage: Sebastian Cabot  
 searches for, I. 63; Verrazano  
 searches for, I. 82; Cartier searches  
 for, I. 82

Northwest Territory: basis for English  
 claims, I. 110; ceded by the various  
 States, II. 568; government of, II.

569; English military posts held in,  
 II. 634; slavery controversy, III.  
 1051

Norway: arbitration treaty with the  
 United States, IV. 1719

Nova Scotia: named, I. 277; ceded to  
 England, I. 335

Nullification: doctrine originates in  
 Kentucky, II. 668; Hayne's speech  
 on, II. 853; in South Carolina,  
 II. 853, 858; ordinance of, passed,  
 II. 861; Jackson's proclamation con-  
 cerning, II. 862

## O

Oberlin College: assists "underground  
 railroad," III. 1108

Ogden, Utah: meeting of the Central  
 and Union Pacific Railroads, IV.  
 1470

Ogdensburg: British defeat at, II. 734  
 Ogeechee River: guarded by Fort Mc-  
 Allister, III. 1330

Oglethorpe, General James: proprietor  
 of Georgia colony, I. 143; founds  
 Savannah, I. 145; friendly relations  
 with Indians, I. 145; trouble with  
 Spanish, I. 145; death, I. 146

O'Hara, Charles: delivers Cornwallis's  
 sword to Washington, II. 512

Ohio: Connecticut gives up claim to,  
 II. 568; admitted to the Union, II.  
 572; first settlement in, II. 645;  
 northern part ceded by Indians, II.  
 647; population increases, II. 775;  
 flourishing condition following ad-  
 mission, II. 776; free State, II. 790;  
 impetus to development of, II. 836;  
 negro rescues, III. 1031; election of  
 1854, III. 1071; condemns Buchanan's  
 Kansas policy, III. 1107; violations  
 of Fugitive Slave Law, III. 1108;  
 opposes negro suffrage, IV. 1408;  
 election of 1874, IV. 1464; Presi-  
 dential election of 1880, IV. 1511;  
 Blaine's campaign speeches (1884),  
 IV. 1535; Presidential election of  
 1892, IV. 1599

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Arthur St. Clair....July, 1788-1802  
 C. W. Byrd (acting).....1802-1803

## STATE GOVERNORS

Edward Tiffin.....1803-1807  
 Thomas Kirker (acting)..1807-1808  
 Samuel Huntington.....1808-1810  
 Return Jona. Meigs.....1810-1814  
 Othniel Looker (acting).. 1814  
 Thomas Worthington.....1814-1818  
 Ethan Allen Brown.....1818-1822  
 Allen Trimble (acting)... 1822  
 Jeremiah Morrow.....1822-1826  
 Allen Trimble.....1826-1830  
 Duncan McArthur.....1830-1832  
 Robert Lucas.....1832-1836  
 Joseph Vance.....1836-1838  
 Wilson Shannon.....1838-1840  
 Thomas Corwin.....1840-1842  
 Wilson Shannon.....1842-1844  
 T. W. Bartley (acting)... 1844  
 Mordecai Bartley.....1844-1846  
 William Bebb.....1846-1849  
 Seabury Ford.....Jan., 1849-1850  
 Reuben Wood.....1850-July, 1853  
 William Medill (acting)  
     July, 1853-Jan., 1854  
 William Medill.....1854-1856  
 Salmon P. Chase.....1856-1860  
 William Dennison.....1860-1862  
 David Tod.....1862-1864  
 John Brough.....1864-1865  
 C. Anderson (acting)....1865-1866  
 Jacob Dolson Cox.....1866-1868  
 Rutherford B. Hayes....1868-1872  
 Edward F. Noyes.....1872-1874  
 William Allen.....1874-1876  
 Rutherford B. Hayes....1876-1877  
 Thomas L. Young (act-  
     ing).....1877-1878  
 Richard M. Bishop.....1878-1880  
 Charles Foster.....1880-1884  
 George Hoadley.....1884-1886  
 Joseph B. Foraker.....1886-1890  
 James E. Campbell.....1890-1892  
 William McKinley, Jr....1892-1896  
 Asa S. Bushwell.....1896-1900  
 George K. Nash.....1900-1904  
 Myron T. Herrick.....1904-1906  
 John M. Pattison.....1906—

Ohio Company, I. 293, II. 570

Ohio Valley: French claims in, I. 287

Oklahoma City: founded, IV. 1591

Oklahoma Territory: obstructive proceed-  
     ures against bill for organization of,

IV. 1567; opening of, IV. 1584;  
 population (1890), IV. 1591; re-  
 fused admission, IV. 1689, 1720

## GOVERNORS

George W. Steele.....1890-1891  
 Abraham J. Seay.....1891-1893  
 William C. Renfrow.....1893-1897  
 Cassius M. Barnes.....1897-1900  
 William J. Jenkins.....1900-1901  
 Thompson B. Ferguson...1901—

"Old Abe": see Lincoln, Abraham

Old French War: see French and In-  
     dian War

"Old Fuss and Feathers": see Scott,  
     Winfield

"Old Hero": see Jackson

Old North Church: signals for Paul  
     Revere hung in tower, I. 384

Old South Meeting House: town-meet-  
     ing at, prohibits landing of tea, I.  
     374

Old Testament: see Bible

Olive-Branch Petition: I. 409

Olney, Richard: Attorney General, IV.  
     1600, note; Secretary of State, IV.  
     1600, note, 1608; in Democratic Pres-  
     idential nomination, IV. 1705

Omaha: convention of People's Party  
     (1892), IV. 1597

Omnibus Bill, III. 1021

Opechancanough: massacres colonists,  
     I. 117; death of, I. 118

Opequan Creek: Sheridan's victory at,  
     III. 1300

Oregon: disputed territory, II. 778;  
     Northwest Boundary Dispute, III.  
     927; Presidential election of 1868,  
     IV. 1412; Presidential election of  
     1876, IV. 1483

## PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR

George Abernathy.....1845-1849

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Joseph Lane.....1849-1850  
 John P. Gaines.....1850-1853  
 Joseph Lane..... 1853  
 George L. Curry..... 1853  
 John W. Davis.....1853-1854  
 George L. Curry.....1854-1859



## STATE GOVERNORS

John Whiteaker.....	1859-1862
Addison C. Gibbs.....	1862-1865
George L. Woods.....	1866-1869
Lafayette Grover.....	1870-1877
S. F. Chadwick.....	1877-1878
William W. Thayer.....	1879-1882
Zenas F. Moody.....	1883-1886
Sylvester Pennoyer.....	1887-1895
William P. Lord.....	1895-1899
Theodore T. Geer.....	1899-1903
George E. Chamberlain..	1903—

*Oregon*: joins the blockading fleets at Santiago, IV. 1653, 1657

"Original Package" Law: enacted, IV. 1572

Oriskany: battle of, II. 450

Osceola, Chief of Seminoles: leads rebellion, II. 879; captured, II. 892

Osgood, Herbert Levi: classifies American colonies, I. 203

Ossawatimie Creek: John Brown's attack on settlers, III. 1079, 1109

Ostend Manifesto: III. 1047, IV. 1438

Oswald, Richard: negotiates treaty with America, II. 515

Oswego: captured by French, I. 314; captured by Indians, I. 340; given up by England, II. 640

Otis, Elwell Stephen: Military Governor of the Philippines, IV. 1667; member of the Philippine Commission, IV. 1674

Otis, James: his speech against general search warrants, I. 349; proposes a general Congress of the Colonies, I. 360

Overseers, Southern, III. 988

Oxford University: graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, II. 577

## P

Pacific Ocean: discovered by Balboa, I. 65; as Florida boundary, II. 780

Packard, S. B.: elected Governor of Louisiana, IV. 1426, note

Paducah, Kentucky: occupied by Federals, III. 1208

Pago Pago Harbor: ceded to United States, IV. 1577

Packenham, Sir Edward Michael: Brit-

ish commander, II. 752; death, II. 753

Paine, Thomas: influence of, I. 245; publishes his pamphlet "Common Sense," I. 412

Palo Alto: battle of, III. 934

Palæolithic Age, I. 3

*Pallas*: fight with the *Countess of Scarborough*, II. 528

Palma, Thomas Estrada: President of Cuba, IV. 1679

Palmer, John McCauley: nominated for President (1896), IV. 1632

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount: quoted on the Webster-Ashburton treaty, III. 912

Panama: southern terminus Panama canal, IV. 1693; revolts from Colombia, IV. 1697

Panama Canal: early negotiations concerning, III. 1026; account of, IV. 1692

Panama Congress: account of, II. 814, IV. 1692; United States delegation fails to reach, II. 817

Pan-American Exposition: McKinley shot at, IV. 1683

Panics, Financial: 1819, II. 770; 1833, II. 874; 1837, II. 887; 1873, IV. 1463; 1893, IV. 1600

Paper Money: see Currency

Paris: Behring Sea arbitration meets at, IV. 1582; canal commission held at, IV. 1693

Paris, Treaties of: 1763, I. 335; 1782, II. 525; 1898, IV. 1661

Parker, Captain: at battle of Lexington, I. 384

Parker, Alton Brooks: declares for gold standard, IV. 1705; Democratic nominee President, IV. 1705; compared with Roosevelt, IV. 1709; sketch of, IV. 1710

Parker, Sir Peter: joins General Clinton, I. 407

Parker, Theodore: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973; quoted on the rescue of Shadrack, III. 1030

Parliament, English: its powers over colonies, I. 214

Parmount, Philemon: appointed teacher of Boston school, I. 239

- Parsons' Cause, I. 351
- Pascatacacy, Emperor of: visited by Governor Calvert, I. 128; hospitality toward Maryland settlers, I. 128
- Patagonian Indians: tallest race in the world, I. 12
- Patrons of Husbandry: see Grange Movement
- Patroon System: in New York, I. 227
- Patterson, Robert: at battle of Bull Run, III. 1195; relieved from command, III. 1197
- Patterson, William: submits plan of government to Constitutional Convention, II. 580
- Pattison, Robert Emory: candidate for Presidential nomination (1896), IV. 1631
- Paulding, John: aids in capture of André, II. 497
- Pouncefote, Sir Julian: in Behring Sea controversy, IV. 1582
- Pawnee Indians: number of, I. 30
- Payne, Henry B.: member of the Electoral Commission, IV., 1486, note
- Payne, Lewis: stabs Secretary Seward, III. 1365
- Peach Tree Creek: Hood defeated at, III. 1312
- Peking, China: foreign legations besieged in, IV. 1681
- Pelican*: vessel belonging to Drake, I. 95
- Pelican*, British frigate: captures *Argus*, II. 741
- Peltry Trade: in New York and Pennsylvania, I. 232
- Pemaquid: attack on, I. 271
- Pemberton, John Clifford: commands Vicksburg, III. 1269; surrenders Vicksburg, III. 1273
- Penalties: see Punishments
- Pendleton, Edmund: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379
- Pendleton, George Hunt: nominated for Vice President (1864), III. 1321; candidate for Presidency (1868), IV. 1409; introduces Civil Service Reform Bill, IV. 1522
- Pendleton Act: introduced, IV. 1522; enforced by Cleveland, IV. 1542
- Peninsula Campaign: account of, III. 1236; Hooker distinguished for bravery in, III. 1260; Hancock in, IV. 1510
- Penn, William: boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore, I. 132; proprietor of Delaware, I. 190; joins Delaware with Pennsylvania, I. 191; purchases of New Jersey, I. 192; sketch of, I. 193; secures grant from king, I. 197; plans Philadelphia, I. 198; treaty with Indians, I. 201; deprived of colony by English Revolution, I. 201; returns to America, I. 201; death, I. 201
- Pennington, William: elected Speaker of the House, III. 1115
- Pennsylvania: founded, I. 193; named, I. 197; extent of grant, I. 197; charter, I. 197; Franklin acts as agent to England for, I. 214; statistics at outbreak of Revolution, I. 219; agitation among Quakers against slavery, I. 224; status of indentured servants, I. 226; races and religions at outbreak of the Revolution, I. 228; peltry trade, I. 232; beginning of iron industry, I. 233; public school system as a colony, I. 241; colonial newspapers, I. 248; religious tolerance of, I. 255; first Continental Congress meets at Philadelphia, I. 378; meeting of second Continental Congress at Philadelphia, I. 391; battle of Germantown, II. 459; Cornwallis captures Philadelphia, II. 459; British evacuate Philadelphia, II. 464; mutiny of soldiers (1781), II. 555; levies tax on produce from Delaware, II. 562; quarrel with Connecticut over Wyoming Valley, II. 562; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; Constitutional Convention meets at Philadelphia, II. 576; ratification of the national Constitution, II. 596; whisky tax opposed, II. 618; United States Bank established in Philadelphia, II. 625; United States mint established at Philadelphia, II. 627; Jackson eulogized by legislature of, II. 807; protectionist tendencies, II. 829;

rank as to population, II. 834; opposition to tariff act of 1846, III. 947; partial abolition of slavery, III. 958; abolition societies formed, III. 968; abolitionists send petition to Congress, III. 969; abolition riot in Philadelphia (1838), III. 974; abolition pamphlets destroyed at Philadelphia, III. 975; President Taylor visits, III. 999; negro rescues, III. 1031; election of 1854, III. 1071; Presidential campaign of 1856, III. 1084, 1085; condemns Buchanan's Kansas policy, III. 1107; Davis's prophecy concerning, III. 1274; Early's invasion of, III. 1274; alarm over Lee's invasion, III. 1275; Early's invasion of, III. 1299; Sheridan saves, from invasion, III. 1303; Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, IV. 1471; the "Mollie Maguires," IV. 1493; railroad strikes (1877), IV. 1494; strike of employees of Carnegie Steel Company, IV. 1598

## COLONIAL GOVERNORS

Peter Minuit.....1638-1641  
 Peter Hollandaer .....1641-1643  
 John Printz.....1643-1653  
 John Pappegoya.....1653-1654  
 Johan C. Rysingh.....1654-1655  
 John Paul Jacquet.....1655-1657  
 Colony divided into city  
   and company.....1657-1662  
 Jacob Alricks (city).....1657-1659  
 Alexander d'Hinoyossa  
   (city) .....1659-1662  
 Goeran Van Dyke (com-  
   pany) .....1657-1658  
 William Beekman (com-  
   pany) .....1658-1662  
 Colony united..... 1662  
 William Beekman.....1662-1663  
 Alexander d'Honoyossa...1663-1664  
 Col. Richard Nicholls (gov.)1664-1667  
 Robert Carr (dep. gov.)..1664-1667  
 Col. Francis Lovelace...1667-1673  
 Anthony Colne (gov.)...1673-1674  
 Peter Alricks (dep. gov.)..1673-1674  
 Sir Edmund Andros.....1674-1682  
 William Markham (dep.  
   gov.) .....1681-1682

William Penn(proprietary)1682-1693  
 The Council (Thomas  
   Lloyd, president).....1684-1688  
 Commissioners appointed  
   by Penn..... 1688  
 John Blackwell (dep. gov.)1688-1690  
 The Council (Thomas  
   Lloyd, president).....1690-1691  
 Thomas Lloyd (d. g. of  
   prov.) .....1691-1693  
 William Markham (d. g.  
   lower counties).....1691-1693  
 Benjamin Fletcher, Gov-  
   ernor of New York  
   (gov.) .....1693-1695  
 William Markham (lieut.  
   gov.) .....1693-1695  
 William Markham (gov.)..1695-1699  
 William Penn(proprietary)1699-1701  
 Andrew Hamilton (gov.)..1701-1703  
 Council (E. Shippen (pres.)1703-1704  
 John Evans (gov.).....1704-1709  
 Charles Gookin (lieut.  
   gov.) .....1709-1717  
 Sir William Keith (lieut.  
   gov.) .....1717-1726  
 Patrick Gordan (lieut.  
   gov.) .....1726-1736  
 Council (J. Logan, pres.)..1736-1738  
 George Thomas (lieut. gov.)1738-1747  
 Council (A. Palmer, pres.) 1747-1748  
 James Hamilton (lieut.  
   gov.) .....1748-1754  
 Robert Hunter Morris  
   lieut. gov.).....1754-1756  
 William Denny (lieut.  
   gov.) .....1756-1759  
 James Hamilton (lieut. gov.)1759-1763  
 John Penn (gov.).....1763-1771  
 Council (J. Hamilton,  
   pres.) ..... 1771  
 Richard Penn (gov.)..... 1771  
 John Penn (lieut. gov.)..1773-1776

## IN THE REVOLUTION

Com. of Safety (B. Frank-  
   lin, chair.).  
   Sept., 1776-Mar., 1777

## PRES. OF SUPREME EX. COUNCIL

Thomas Wharton, Jr.....1777-1778  
 George Bryan (v.p.), act-  
   ing ..... 1778

Joseph Reed.....1778-1781  
 William Moore.....1781-1872  
 John Dickinson.....1782-1785  
 Benjamin Franklin.....1785-1788  
 Thomas Mifflin.....1788-1790

STATE GOVERNORS

Thomas Mifflin.....1790-1799  
 Thomas McKean.....1799-1808  
 Simon Snyder.....1808-1817  
 William Findley.....1817-1820  
 Joseph Heister.....1820-1823  
 John A. Shulze.....1823-1829  
 George Wolf.....1829-1837  
 Joseph Ritner.....1837-1839  
 David R. Porter.....1839-1845  
 Francis R. Shunk.....1845-1848  
 William F. Johnston.....1848-1852  
 William Bigler.....1852-1855  
 James Pollock.....1855-1858  
 William F. Packer.....1858-1861  
 Andrew G. Curtin.....1861-1867  
 John W. Geary.....1867-1873  
 John F. Hartranft.....1873-1876  
 John F. Hartranft.....1876-1879  
 Henry M. Hoyt.....1879-1883  
 Robert E. Pattison.....1883-1887  
 James A. Beaver.....1887-1891  
 Robert E. Pattison.....1891-1895  
 Daniel H. Hastings.....1895-1899  
 William A. Stone.....1899-1903  
 Samuel W. Pennypacker..1903—

Pennsylvania, University of: founded,  
 I. 241

Pensacola, Florida: British expelled  
 from, II. 753; Spanish settlers aid  
 Seminoles, II. 779; Confederates  
 seize navy yard, III. 1139

Pensions: dependent bill vetoed by  
 Cleveland, IV. 1569; American and  
 foreign compared, IV. 1570; de-  
 pendent bill passed, IV. 1570

People's Party: convention at Omaha  
 (1892), IV. 1597

Peoria: branch of the Whisky Ring,  
 IV. 1460

Pepperell, William: commands Louis-  
 burg expedition, I. 281

Pequot Indians: belong to Algonquin  
 stock, I. 11; war in Connecticut, I.  
 169

Percy, Lord: at battle of Lexington, I.  
 386

Perdido River: as French boundary, II.  
 701

Perez, Father Juan: aids Columbus, I.  
 48

Perry, Oliver Hazard: victory on Lake  
 Erie, II. 737; among naval heroes  
 War of 1812, II. 763

Perryville, Kentucky: battle at, III.  
 1264

Persecutions, Religious: Quakers pro-  
 hibited after Restoration, I. 176; of  
 Dissenters in New York, I. 183; of  
 Quakers, I. 194, 201; in New Eng-  
 land, I. 253; in Virginia, I. 256

Personal Liberty Laws: passed, III.  
 1012; repeal agitated, III. 1152

Peters, Hugh: early American writer,  
 I. 242

Petersburg, Virginia: siege of, III. 1297

Petition of Right, English: effect on  
 New World, I. 158

Petition, Right of, discussed in Congress,  
 III. 970

Pettigrew, James Johnston: at Gettys-  
 burg, III. 1280

Petty, William, Marquis of Lansdowne  
 (Earl of Shelburne): opens nego-  
 tiations for peace with colonies, II.  
 515; becomes premier of England,  
 II. 516

Philadelphia: laid out by Penn, I. 198;  
 second legislature meets at (1683),  
 I. 198; mails with New York estab-  
 lished, I. 204; population at out-  
 break of the Revolution, I. 221; in-  
 fluence of the bar, I. 237; stage-line  
 to New York established, I. 262; tea  
 returned to England, I. 373; first  
 Continental Congress meets at, I.  
 378; second Continental Congress  
 meets at, I. 391; captured by Brit-  
 ish (1777), II. 459; British evac-  
 uate, II. 464; Washington's march  
 through, II. 511; Bank of North  
 America established, II. 533; muti-  
 nous soldiers annoy Congress (1783),  
 II. 556; Constitutional Convention  
 meets at, II. 576; Washington's tri-  
 umphal entry, II. 602; made Na-  
 tional Capital, II. 621; Bank of  
 the United States established, II.  
 625; United States mint established  
 in, II. 627; second Bank of United



- States established at, II. 772; population in time of Jackson, II. 834; denounces veto of United States Bank, II. 873; Whig Convention (1848), III. 950; American Anti-Slavery Society organized, III. 973; abolition riot (1838), III. 974; mails searched for abolition pamphlets, III. 975; anti-slavery mass meeting, III. 1058; Know-Nothing Convention (1856), III. 1080; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; object-point in Lee's plan, III. 1246; Lincoln's body taken to Independence Hall, III. 1366; Democratic Convention (1866), III. 1391; National Republican Convention (1872), IV. 1458; the Centennial Exposition, IV. 1471
- Philip, King: War of, I. 175; death, I. 176
- Philip V., King of France: aspires to Spanish throne, I. 274
- Philip II., King of Spain: approves action of Menendez, I. 86; fits out the Invincible Armada, I. 100
- Philippi, West Virginia: battle of, III. 1192
- Philippine Islands: visited by Magellan, I. 66; Treaty of Paris, I. 336; battle of Manila Bay, IV. 1652; surrender of city of Manila, IV. 1652; discussed in the Peace Conference, IV. 1660; ceded to the United States, IV. 1661; description of, IV. 1666; under American rule, IV. 1667; provisional government established, IV. 1674; government established, IV. 1676; navigation laws extended to, IV. 1689
- Phillips, Wendell: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973; aids slaves to escape, III. 1032; quoted on right of secession, III. 1170; joins liberal movement, IV. 1454
- Phipps, Sir William: commands fleet, I. 272
- Pickens, Andrew: leader in the Revolution, II. 490
- Pickering, John: impeached, II. 689
- Pickering, Timothy: proposes secession of Eastern States, II. 703
- Pickett, George Edward: leads charge at Gettysburg, III. 1280
- Piedmont: intervention of Austria in, II. 782
- Pierce, Franklin (1804-1869), President of the United States, 1853-1857: in Mexican War, III. 947; nominated for President, III. 1035; election, III. 1039; sketch of his earlier life, III. 1040; inauguration, III. 1041; signs Kansas-Nebraska Bill, III. 1060; receives Kossuth, III. 1064; message of 1854, III. 1076
- Pierpoint, Francis H.: elected Governor of Virginia, III. 1193
- Pike, Zebulon Montgomery: explorations of, II. 702
- Pike's Peak: discovered and named, II. 702
- Pilgrims: brought from Leyden in *Speedwell*, I. 150; sail from Southampton in *Mayflower*, I. 150; landing at Plymouth, I. 153; second arrival of, from Leyden, I. 153; found Plymouth colony, I. 153
- Pillow, Gideon Johnson: in Mexican War, III. 947; at siege of Fort Donelson, III. 1210; escapes from Fort Donelson, III. 1211; removed from command, III. 1211
- Pinckney, Charles: member of South Carolina ratifying convention, II. 597; absence from first Congress, II. 609
- Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth: in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; member of South Carolina ratifying convention, II. 597; absence from first Congress, II. 609; minister to France, II. 659; made major general, II. 663; Federal nominee Vice President, II. 673; Federalist candidate President, II. 707
- Pinckney, Henry Laurens: introduces resolutions against abolition petition, III. 977
- Pinckney, Thomas: concludes treaty with Spain, II. 642; nominated Vice President, II. 653; Federal candidate for Presidency, II. 721
- Pinkney, William: envoy to Great Britain, II. 716; minister to Great Britain, II. 726; quoted on slave labor, III. 991
- Pinta*: fitted out for Columbus, I. 52

- Pinzon, Francisco Martin: raises false cry of "Land," I. 53
- Pinzon, Martin Alonzo: aids Columbus, I. 52
- Pious Fund: in Mexican dispute, IV. 1691
- Piracy: on Atlantic coast, I. 188
- Piscataqua River: boundary between grants of Gorges and Mason, I. 172
- Pitcairn, John: at battle of Lexington and Concord, I. 381; killed, I. 400
- Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham: becomes premier (1766), I. 319, 364; sends a fleet to capture Louisburg, I. 319; resigns premiership, I. 335; speech in behalf of rights of colonists, I. 361; opposes the surrender of the colonies, II. 483; death, II. 484
- Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: name changed from Fort Du Quesne, I. 324; Free Soil Convention (1852), III. 1037; Republican Convention (1856), III. 1082; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159; railroad strikes of 1877, IV. 1495
- Pittsburg Landing: battle of, III. 1216
- Plains of Abraham: see Abraham, Plains of
- Plassey: battle of, I. 318
- Plato: believes the earth to be a sphere, I. 37
- Platt, Thomas Collier: joins Conkling faction, IV. 1516
- Plattsburg: McDonough's victory at, II. 750
- Plumer, William: votes against Monroe for reason of sentiment, II. 803
- Plymouth Company: James I. chartered, I. 104; makes grant to Pilgrims, I. 154; earlier colonies unsuccessful, I. 156
- Plymouth Colony: founded by Pilgrims, I. 153; friendly relation with Indians, I. 153; secures grant from Plymouth Company, I. 154; government of, I. 155; incorporated with Massachusetts, I. 156; in New England Confederation, I. 174; in Colonial Congress, I. 271; suffrage laws, I. 254
- Pocahontas: rescues Captain Smith, I. 109
- Poe, Edgar Allen: in American literature, II. 841
- Pokanokets: resist conversion, I. 175
- Poland, Luke Potter: investigates the *Crédit Mobilier*, IV. 1462
- Political Campaigns: see Campaigns, Political
- "Polk, Dallas, and the Tariff of 1842," III. 923
- Polk, James Knox (1795-1849), President of the United States, 1845-1849: nominated for President, III. 922; elected, III. 923; early career, III. 925; Northwest Boundary Dispute, III. 929; war with Mexico, III. 932; message to Congress (1846), III. 933; party schemes of, III. 949; proposition to buy Cuba rejected, III. 1048; Alaska purchase proposed in administration of, IV. 1436
- Polk, Leonidas: enters Kentucky, III. 1208; at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1216; death, III. 1308
- Polo, Marco: his career, I. 39
- Polygamy: in Mormon religion, IV. 1585; first act of Congress respecting, IV. 1586
- Ponce, Porto Rico: captured by American forces, IV. 1658
- Ponce de Leon, Juan: accompanies Columbus on his second voyage, I. 59; discovers Florida, I. 67
- Pontiac: leads his braves against Brad-dock, I. 340; plans his conspiracy, I. 340; concludes peace with Sir William Johnson, I. 341; death, I. 341
- Pontiac, Conspiracy of: see Pontiac
- "Poor Richard's Almanack," I. 245
- Pope, John: captures Island Number Ten, III. 1220; commands Army of Virginia, III. 1244; Federal losses during command, III. 1245
- Popham, Sir Francis: appointed counselor, I. 106
- Populist Party (the People's Party): in election of 1890, IV. 1575; absorbed by the Democrats, IV. 1628; convention at St. Louis, IV. 1632; convention at Springfield, IV. 1707
- Porter, David Dixon: commands iron-clads at Vicksburg, III. 1269; at

- Vicksburg, III. 1270; captures Fort Fisher, III. 1335
- Porter, Fitz-John: blamed for defeat at Groveton, III. 1245
- Porter, Peter Buel: in Congress, II. 728
- Port Gibson: taken, III. 1269
- Port Hudson: taken by Banks, III. 1274
- Port Royal, Nova Scotia: see Annapolis, Nova Scotia
- Port Royal, South Carolina: settled, I. 84; fate of, I. 138
- Portland Channel: in Alaskan boundary settlement, IV. 1691
- Porto Rico: captured by American forces, IV. 1658; ceded to the United States, IV. 1661; description of, IV. 1665; government provided for, IV. 1671
- Portsmouth, New Hampshire: founded, I. 172; Russo-Japanese Peace Conference at, IV. 1725
- Portsmouth Peace Conference: see Russo-Japanese Peace Conference
- Portugal: arbitration treaty with the United States, IV. 1719
- Portuguese: discover Madeira, I. 40
- Post Office, Department of: scandals of, IV. 1461
- Postal Facilities: in the colonies, I. 262
- Post Office Scandal: account of, IV. 1690
- Potomac River: Lee crosses, III. 1274
- Pottawottomi Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, I. 13
- Pottery: found in the mounds of the Mound Builders, I. 8
- Poughkeepsie, New York: ratification convention meets at, II. 598; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159
- Powhatan: his conference with Smith, I. 108
- Prentiss, Benjamin Mayberry: at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1216
- Prentiss, Seargent Smith: makes campaign speeches (1840), III. 899
- Presbyterians: tolerated in Virginia, I. 125; James I. and attitude toward, I. 149; persecuted in Virginia, I. 256; divide into Northern and Southern wings, III. 1015
- Prescott, Richard: exchanged, II. 466
- Prescott, William: at battle of Bunker Hill, I. 396
- Presque Isle (Erie): founded, I. 293
- President*: captures frigate *Little Belt*, II. 726
- Presidential Succession Law, IV. 1545
- President-Maker: see Weed, Thurlow
- President of the Confederacy: term of office, III. 1144
- President of the United States: election and powers, II. 593; election of first, II. 601; official title, II. 614; salary of, II. 614; nomination by Congressional caucus abandoned, II. 805
- Prevost, Augustine: devastates South Carolina, II. 487
- Pribylov Islands: sealing industry of, IV. 1437; in seal fisheries dispute, IV. 1581
- Price, Sterling: in Missouri campaign, III. 1206; at Battle of Corinth, III. 1265; attacked by Rosecrans at Iuka, III. 1265
- Prideaux, General: killed at the bombardment of Fort Niagara, I. 325
- Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, III. 981, 1010
- Primogeniture, Law of: abolished by Jefferson, II. 676
- Princeton, New Jersey: battle of, II. 442
- Princeton University: founded, I. 240; pillaged by Howe's army, II. 443; graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, II. 577
- Pring, Martin: explores New England coast, I. 100
- Printing: first press in America, I. 247
- Privateers: Davis calls for, III. 1180
- Procter, Redfield: reports conditions existing in Cuba, IV. 1646
- Proctor, Henry A.: British general, II. 745
- Progress of a Century, IV. 1728
- Prohibition Party: first organized, IV. 1482; nominates Neal Dow, IV. 1510; nominates J. P. St. John for President (1884), IV. 1533; in election of 1888, IV. 1562; nominates John Bidwell for President (1892), IV. 1597; Presidential nomination for 1904, IV. 1707
- Prophet, The: Shawnee chief, II. 726
- Proprietary Colonies, I. 203
- Protection: favored by Middle States and West, II. 798; versus free trade, II.

798; loses hold in South, II. 801; convention of manufacturers at Harrisburg recommend, II. 822; of raw materials, II. 825; retained in tariff revision, 1883, IV. 1524; Democratic faction favors, IV. 1558

Providence Plantations: formation of, I. 170; see also Rhode Island

Province Colonies, I. 203

Prussia: commercial treaty with United States, II. 617

Ptolemy, Claudius: his theory of the extent of Asia, I. 38

Public Debt: payment of, II. 619; in Republican platform, 1868, IV. 1408; Grant urges sound money payment of, IV. 1412

Public Lands: Foote's resolution affecting sale of, II. 853; proceeds from sales distributed among States, III. 910.

Public Office: views of Adams on polical removals from, II. 827; eligibility restrictions removed, II. 838; increased number made elective, II. 838; clamor for, at Jackson's accession, II. 841; Jackson's "spoils system," II. 842; see also Civil Service Reform

Public Schools: see Schools, Public

Pueblo Indians: description of, I. 19; famous for their jewelry and wood-carving, I. 26; pottery among, I. 26; skillful in textile work, I. 26

Pugh, George E.: resents attitude of Southern Democrats, III. 1118

Pulaski, Count Casimir: his services to America, II. 482; death, II. 487

Pullman Car Strike, IV. 1612

Punishment: religious persecutions in New England, I. 253; crimes in the colonies, I. 269; see also Constitution, The

Puritan: placed in commission, IV. 1621

Puritans: strength of, in England, I. 118; bigotry of, in Maryland, I. 131; withdraw from Church of England, I. 148; in Portsmouth, I. 172; end of absolute dominion of, I. 179; persecuted in Virginia, I. 256

Putnam, Israel: serves in expedition against Ticonderoga, I. 321; joins troops at Boston, I. 386; appointed

major general, I. 395; in battle of Long Island, II. 424

Putnam, Rufus: organizes Ohio Company, II. 570; plans government for Northwest Territory, II. 571

Pythagoras: announces his theory of a spherical earth, I. 37

## Q

Quakers: attracted to Maryland, I. 132; persecutions of, in Salem colony, I. 164; persecution of, prohibited, I. 176; purchase New Jersey, I. 192; characteristics of, I. 193; oppose slavery in Pennsylvania, I. 224; persecuted in New England, I. 253; not given suffrage in Massachusetts or Plymouth, I. 254; not tolerated in New York, I. 255; persecuted in Virginia, I. 256; petition Congress against slavery, III. 969

Quartering Act: passed, I. 376

Quebec: settled, I. 88; slow growth of, I. 91; plan to capture, I. 272; in French claims, I. 288; captured by English, I. 327; French attempt to recapture, I. 334; attacked by Montgomery and Arnold, I. 405; meeting of the Joint High Commission, IV. 1641

Quebec Act: passed, I. 376

Quebec, Hero of: see Wolfe, General James

Queen Anne's War: origin, I. 274; Indians attack Deerfield, I. 275; Port Royal taken by English, I. 276; failure of expedition on Quebec, I. 277; Treaty of Utrecht and terms, I. 278.

Queensdown: defeat at, II. 733

Quetzalcoatl, Mexican god, I. 68

Quincy, Josiah: defends soldiers accused of Boston Massacre, I. 368; condemns War of 1812, II. 760; quoted, II. 803; suggests secession, III. 964

Quitman, John Anthony: favors secession of the South, III. 1025; plans invasion of Cuba, III. 1068

Quo Warranto, Writ of: used to deprive colonies of their charters, I. 205



## R

- Railroads: early construction, II. 837; Supreme Court decision respecting merger, IV. 1571; effect of transcontinental, on settlement of West, IV. 1591; abuses of, discussed in President Roosevelt's message, IV. 1717
- Raleigh, Sir Walter: receives royal patent, I. 96; his attempts at colonization, I. 97; imprisonment and death, I. 99
- Rambouillet Decree: issued, II. 725
- Randall, Samuel Jackson: Speaker of the House, IV. 1488, 1491; leader of protective tariff Democrats, IV. 1558
- Randolph, Edmund: his plan proposed to Constitutional Convention, II. 578; quoted on the determination of the members of the Constitutional Convention, II. 594; refuses to sign the Constitution, II. 594; favors adoption of Constitution, II. 598; made Attorney General, II. 613
- Randolph, Edward: sent to enforce Navigation Acts, I. 177
- Randolph, John: quoted on Jefferson's Embargo Act, II. 717; quoted on election of J. Q. Adams as President, II. 811; on "tariff of abominations," II. 826; opposes slave trade in District of Columbia, III. 967; quoted on Southern fear of negro uprisings, III. 989
- Randolph, Peyton: graduates from College of William and Mary, I. 242; delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 378; quoted on slavery in Virginia, III. 959
- Rapidan River: in Wilderness campaign, III. 1291
- Rappahannock River: crossed by Hooker's army, III. 1261; division line of Northern and Southern armies, III. 1283
- Rawdon, Lord (Francis Rawdon Hastings): at battle of Hobkirk's Hill, II. 507
- Raymond, Mississippi: battle at, III. 1269
- Read, George: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379
- Reading, Pennsylvania: riots at, during railroad strikes, IV. 1495
- Reagan, John Henninger: Confederate Postmaster General, III. 1144; fathers bill for regulating freight charges, IV. 1549
- Reconstruction: Lincoln's plan, III. 1375; Wade-Davis Bill, III. 1379; debate in Congress, III. 1388; aftermath in Grant's administration, IV. 1415; effects in South, IV. 1416; mistakes of, summarized, IV. 1429
- Reconstruction Acts: passed, III. 1392; denounced in Democratic platform, 1868, IV. 1411
- Red River: as Florida boundary, II. 780
- Reed, Thomas Buchanan: enters Congress, IV. 1491; chosen Speaker of House, IV. 1567; his war on dilatory motions in House, IV. 1568; candidate for Presidential nomination (1896), IV. 1628
- Reed, William Brackett: negotiates treaty between China and the United States, IV. 1495
- Referendum, The: in Rhode Island charter, I. 171; introduced, II. 838; in Kansas election, III. 1095
- Regulating Act: passed, I. 375; impossible of enforcement in Massachusetts, I. 383
- Reid, Whitelaw: nominated for Vice President (1892), IV. 1594; member of Spanish-American peace commission, IV. 1659
- Religion: beliefs among the Indians, I. 17; important in Virginia colony, I. 124; conflict of, in Carolina, I. 140; disputes regarding, in Salem colony, I. 162; in the colonies, I. 248
- Religious Freedom: toleration in Maryland, I. 128; granted by Carolina charter, I. 138; in Rhode Island, I. 171; insured in New York, I. 186
- "Remember the Alamo," III. 917
- Removals from Office: power granted President, II. 613
- Renaissance, The: summary of, I. 36
- Reno, Jesse Lee: killed at Antietam, III. 1249

- Reno, Marcus R.: in expedition against Sitting Bull, IV. 1476
- Rensselaer, Stephen van: estate of, I. 228
- Representation: settled in Constitutional Convention, II. 581
- Representatives, House of: see House of Representatives
- Republican Movement, Liberal: formed, IV. 1454; convention at Cincinnati, IV. 1455
- Republican Party (Anti-Federalist Party): origin, II. 631; Jefferson leader of, II. 653; prosecutions of, under Sedition Act, II. 666; rise from old Republican Party, II. 764; division into Democrats and Whigs, II. 764; change ground with Federalists on bank question, II. 771; become Federalistic, II. 803; National Party formed, III. 894; organized, III. 1070; convention at Pittsburg, III. 1082; denounce Dred Scott decision, III. 1092; gain ground in North, III. 1107; national convention in Chicago (1860), III. 1120; divided on Emancipation Proclamation, III. 1256; convention at Chicago (1868), IV. 1407; reconstruction in South, IV. 1418; division of radical and conservative in South, IV. 1427; convention at Philadelphia (1872), IV. 1458; convention at Cincinnati (1876), IV. 1477; convention of 1880, IV. 1502; lose vote of South, IV. 1511; support Civil Service Reform Bill, IV. 1522; tariff question, IV. 1524; convention at Chicago (1884), IV. 1527; national convention of 1888, IV. 1561; demonstrations over success of, in 1888, IV. 1565; convention at Minneapolis (1892), IV. 1594; platform (1892), IV. 1596; convention at St. Louis (1896), IV. 1628; platform (1900), IV. 1670; convention of 1904, IV. 1701
- Resaca de la Palma: battle of, III. 934; attack at, III. 1307
- Restoration, The: effect on Virginia, I. 120; accepted by Connecticut, I. 169; effect on Confederation, I. 174, 176
- Resumption Act, IV. 1467
- Revere, Paul: rides to Lexington, I. 384
- Revolution, Financier of the: see Morris, Robert
- Revolution, The American: causes, I. 344; the Stamp Act passed, I. 355; opposition of, to Stamp Act in America, I. 359; Sons of Liberty formed, I. 359; legislation in Parliament, I. 361; repeal of Stamp Act, I. 363; quartering of British troops in Boston, I. 365; Boston Massacre, I. 368; burning of the *Gaspee*, I. 371; Boston Tea Party, I. 373; Boston Port Bill and abrogation of Massachusetts charter, I. 375; General Gage appointed Governor of Massachusetts, I. 375; first Continental Congress, I. 377; Lexington and Concord, I. 382; Ticonderoga and Crown Point, I. 389; second Continental Congress, I. 391; battle of Bunker Hill, I. 395; Washington chosen to command Continental Army, I. 393; siege of Boston, I. 406; Declaration of Independence signed, I. 418; battle of Long Island, II. 424; retreat across New Jersey, II. 431; battle of Trenton, II. 439; battle of Princeton, II. 440; Burgoyne's invasion and struggle for the upper Hudson, II. 445; Brandywine, Germantown and Valley Forge, II. 456; British occupy Philadelphia, II. 459; Charles Lee and battle of Monmouth, II. 464; British evacuate Philadelphia, II. 464; French alliance, II. 472; British success in the South, II. 485; campaign in South under Gates, II. 490; Arnold's treason, II. 493; General Greene in South, II. 504; surrender of Yorktown, II. 512; treaty of peace signed, II. 525; naval encounters, II. 527; compared to War of 1812, II. 765; effect on slavery question, III. 956
- Revolution, The French: effects Washington's second administration, II. 633
- Reyes, Rafael: president-elect Colombia, IV. 1697; sent to plead Colombian cause, IV. 1699
- Reynolds, John Fulton: killed at Gettysburg, III. 1276

Rhett, Robert Barnwall: opposes Slade in Congress, III. 978

Rhode Island: founded, I. 170; receives liberal charter, I. 170; religious freedom, I. 171, 253; snubbed by New England Confederation, I. 174; favored after Restoration, I. 176; colonial government, I. 204; evades Sugar Act, I. 231; rum trade (1750), I. 232; educational growth, I. 240; franchise denied Catholics, I. 254; colonial suffrage laws, I. 254; jealousy of Connecticut, I. 281; the *Gaspee* affair, I. 371; opposes amendment to Articles of Confederation, II. 564; suffers from paper currency craze, II. 566; appoints delegates for Annapolis Convention, II. 574; refuses to send delegates to Constitutional Convention, II. 575; ratifies the Constitution, II. 599; attitude toward War of 1812, II. 759; in Hartford Convention, II. 760; rebellion of 1841, III. 910; measures toward abolition of slavery adopted, III. 958; abolition societies formed, III. 968; State election of 1855, III. 1072; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1599

#### COLONIAL GOVERNORS OF PORTSMOUTH

Wm. Coddington..7 Mch., 1638-1639  
Wm. Hutchinson..30 Apr., 1639-1640  
Wm. Coddington..12 Mch., 1640-1647

#### COLONIAL GOVERNOR OF NEWPORT

William Coddington,  
28 Apr., 1639-1647

#### PRESIDENTS UNDER THE PATENT OF PROVIDENCE, WARWICK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT

John Coggeshall.....1617-1648  
Wm. Coddington.....1648-1649  
John Smith.....1649-1650  
Nicholas Easton.....1650-1651

#### PROVIDENCE AND WARWICK

Samuel Gorton.....1651-1652  
John Smith.....1652-1653  
Gregory Dexter.....1653-1654

#### PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT

John Sandford, Sr.....1653-1654

#### FOUR TOWNS UNITED

Nicholas Easton..... 1654  
Roger Williams.....1654-1657  
Benedict Arnold .....1657-1660  
William Brenton.....1660-1662  
Benedict Arnold.....1662-1663

#### GOVERNORS UNDER ROYAL CHARTER

Benedict Arnold .....1663-1666  
William Brenton .....1666-1669  
Benedict Arnold.....1669-1672  
Nicholas Easton.....1672-1674  
William Coddington.....1674-1676  
Walter Clarke .....1676-1677  
Benedict Arnold .....1677-1678  
Wm. Coddington ..... 1678  
John Cranston .....1678-1680  
Peleg Sandford .....1680-1683  
Wm. Coddington, Jr.....1683-1685  
Henry Bull .....1685-1686  
Walter Clarke .....1686-1690  
Henry Bull ..... 1690  
John Easton .....1690-1695  
Caleb Carr .....1695-1696  
Walter Clarke .....1696-1698  
Samuel Cranston .....1698-1727  
Joseph Jenckes.....1727-1732  
William Wanton .....1732-1734  
John Wanton .....1734-1740  
Richard Ward .....1740-1743  
William Greene .....1743-1745  
Gideon Wanton .....1745-1746  
William Greene .....1746-1747  
Gideon Wanton .....1747-1748  
William Greene .....1748-1755  
Stephen Hopkins .....1755-1757  
William Greene .....1757-1758  
Stephen Hopkins .....1758-1762  
Samuel Ward .....1762-1763  
Stephen Hopkins .....1763-1765  
Samuel Ward .....1765-1767  
Stephen Hopkins .....1767-1768  
Josias Lyndon .....1768-1769  
Joseph Wanton .....1769-1775  
Nicholas Cooke .....1775-1778  
William Greene .....1778-1786  
John Collins .....1786-1790  
Arthur Fenner .....1790-1807  
James Fenner .....1807-1811  
William Jones .....1811-1817  
Nehemiah R. Knight.....1817-1821  
William C. Gibbs.....1821-1824  
James Fenner .....1824-1831

Lemuel H. Arnold.....1831-1833  
 John Brown Francis.....1833-1838  
 William Sprague .....1838-1840  
 Samuel Ward King.....1840-1843

## GOVERNORS UNDER STATE CONSTITUTION

James Fenner .....1843-1845  
 Charles Jackson .....1845-1846  
 Byron Diman .....1846-1847  
 Elisha Harris .....1847-1849  
 Henry B. Anthony.....1849-1851  
 Philip Allen .....1851-1854  
 William Warner Hoppin.....1854-1857  
 Elisha Dyer .....1857-1859  
 Thomas G. Turner.....1859-1860  
 William Sprague .....1860-1863  
 William C. Cozzens.....1863  
 James Y. Smith.....1863-1866  
 Ambrose E. Burnside.....1866-1869  
 Seth Padelford .....1869-1873  
 Henry Howard .....1873-1875  
 Henry Lippitt .....1875-1877  
 Charles C. Van Zandt.....1877-1880  
 Alfred H. Littlefield.....1880-1883  
 Augustus P. Bourn.....1883-1885  
 George O. Wetmore.....1885-1887  
 John W. Davis.....1887-1888  
 Royal C. Taft.....1888-1889  
 H. W. Ladd.....1889-1890  
 John W. Davis.....1890-1891  
 H. W. Ladd.....1891-1892  
 D. Russell Brown.....1892-1896  
 Charles W. Lippitt.....1896-1897  
 Elisha Dyer .....1897-1900  
 William Gregory .....1900-1901  
 Charles D. Kimball.....1902-1903  
 Lucius F. C. Garvin.....1903-1905  
 George H. Utter.....1905—

Ribaut, Jean: attempts to plant colony in Carolina, I. 83

Rice Industry: in South Carolina, I. 234

Richard II., King of England: statute of, restricting exports, I. 123

Richardson, William Alexander: chairman of Committee on Territories, III. 1059

Richmond, Virginia: population in time of Jackson, II. 835; made capital of Confederacy, III. 1175; McClellan's plan of attack on, III. 1237; Lee takes command at, III. 1242; Grant begins operations against, III. 1297; demonstrations following Hampton

Roads Conference, III. 1336; fall of, III. 1337; Lincoln visits, III. 1362

Rich Mountain: battle of, III. 1194

Rights, Declaration of: see Declaration of Rights

Riley, Bennett: Governor of California, III. 1007

Rio Grande: becomes boundary between Mexico and Texas, III. 945

Ripon, George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Marquis of: in Joint High Commission, IV. 1446

Rittenhouse, David: orrery of, destroyed, II. 443

River Raisin: massacre at, II. 745

*Roanoke*: at the battle between the *Mer-rimac* and the *Congress*, III. 1231

Roanoke Island: attempts to colonize, I. 98

Robertson, W. H.: opposed by Conkling, IV. 1515

Roberval: attempts to settle Montreal, I. 82

Robinson, John: leads Presbyterian refugees, I. 149

Rochambeau, Count: joins Washington, II. 511

Rochambeau, Marquis: in centennial of Cornwallis's surrender, IV. 1525

Rochester, New York: speech of Senator Stewart at, III. 1107; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1366

Rockingham, Charles Wetson Wentworth, Marquis of: becomes premier, I. 361; favors repeal of Stamp Act, I. 363; fall of his ministry, I. 364

Rockingham County, Virginia: devastated by Sheridan's army, III. 1303

Rock of Chickamauga: see George Henry Thomas

Rocky Mountains: dispute of boundary beyond, II. 778

Rodgers, John: commands squadron, II. 662

Rodney, Caesar: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379

"Rogue's Harbor": name given to Albe-marle, I. 135

Roosevelt, Theodore (1858—), President of the United States, Sept. 14, 1901—: in Santiago campaign, (1898), IV. 1654; controversy between Sampson and Schley, IV. 1664; nom-



- inated for Vice President (1900), IV. 1668; campaign tour (1900), IV. 1671; becomes President, IV. 1685; nominated for President (1904), IV. 1702; second election, IV. 1714; sketch of, IV. 1709; in Russo-Japanese Peace Conference, IV. 1727
- Root, Elihu, in Roosevelt's Cabinet, IV. 1688; in Alaskan boundary commission, IV. 1691; in Republican Convention (1904), IV. 1701
- Rose, Sir John: in Alabama claims controversy, IV. 1446
- Rosecrans, William Starke: with Grant in North Mississippi, III. 1264; made major general, III. 1265; sketch of, III. 1265; succeeds Buell, III. 1265; operations in East Tennessee, III. 1285; mistake at Chickamauga, III. 1285; succeeded by Thomas, III. 1287
- Ross, Robert: British commander, II. 750; killed in attack on Baltimore, II. 752
- Round Top: in battle of Gettysburg, III. 1277; held by Sickles, III. 1278
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques: his influence on American Constitution, II. 586
- Rousseau, Lovell Harrison: organizes Kentucky troops, III. 1180
- Rouville, Hertel de: attacks Salmon Falls, I. 271; in Queen Anne's War, I. 275
- Royal African Company, I. 222; British sovereigns members of, III. 957
- Royal Colonies, I. 203
- Ruffin, Edward: fires second shot of Civil War, III. 1167
- Rule of 1756: enforcement sought by England, II. 638; debars neutrals from colonial trade, II. 711
- Rum trade: in New England, I. 231; with Indians, I. 299
- Rush, Benjamin: plots against Washington, II. 462; Jefferson's letter to, II. 687
- Rush, Richard: minister to England, II. 782
- Russell, Lord John: quoted on Polk's inaugural address, III. 929; refuses arbitration of claims controversy, IV. 1442
- Russell, Jonathan: appointed on peace commission, II. 754
- Russellville, Kentucky: secessionists hold convention at, III. 1180
- Russia: attitude toward Northwest, II. 782; allusion to, in Monroe Doctrine, II. 786; settlement of dispute with, II. 787; treaties with the United States (1824 and 1825), III. 927; offers to mediate between United States and Great Britain, II. 754; cedes Alaska, IV. 1436; Alaskan purchase ends dominion of, in America, IV. 1437; friendly attitude during Civil War, IV. 1437; Behring Sea, rights of, IV. 1582; disputes with, over Behring Sea, IV. 1691
- Russian-American Company: charter expires, IV. 1436
- Russo-Japanese Peace Conference: held at Portsmouth, N. H., IV. 1725
- Russo-Japanese War, IV. 1725
- Rutgers, Elizabeth: sues Joshua Wadlington, II. 558
- Rutgers College: founded, I. 240
- Rutledge, Edward: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; member of South Carolina ratifying convention, II. 597
- Rutledge, John: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; member of South Carolina ratifying convention, II. 597
- Ryswick, Treaty of: provisions of, I. 273; nature of, I. 274

## S

- Sabbath Day: New England observance of, I. 249
- Sabine River: as Florida boundary, II. 780
- Sac Indians: in Black Hawk War, II. 878
- Sackville Episode: in campaign of 1888, IV. 1563
- Sacramento: center of gold miners, III. 1002
- Sagasta, Praxedes Mateo: recalls Weyler, IV. 1644
- St. Augustine: founded, I. 77, 86; attacked by Oglethorpe, I. 145
- St. Clair, Arthur: surrenders Ticonderoga, II. 447; court-martialed, II.

- 447; governor of Northwest Territory, II. 572; appointed governor, II. 645; defeat of, II. 646
- St. Croix River: dispute as to location, II. 640, III. 911
- St. John, John Pierce: nominated for President (1884), IV. 1533
- St. John's River: discovered, I. 83; made boundary between Maine and Canada, III. 912
- St. Lawrence, Gulf of: fishery privileges granted to the United States, IV. 1533
- St. Lawrence River: as boundary of Nova Scotia, I. 287; as British boundary, I. 291
- St. Lawrence*, The: Federal frigate, III. 1231
- St. Leger, Barry: attempts to capture Fort Stanwix, II. 450
- St. Louis: Confederates attempt to gain possession of arsenal, III. 1178; headquarters of the Whisky Ring, IV. 1460; Democratic Convention (1876), IV. 1480; labor disturbances, IV. 1555; Republican Convention (1896), IV. 1628; Populist Convention (1896), IV. 1632; National Silver Party Convention (1896), IV. 1633; Democratic Convention (1904), IV. 1703
- St. Lucia: restored to France by Treaty of Paris, I. 336
- St. Marks: Spanish settlers aid Seminole, II. 779
- St. Mary's: first settlement in Maryland, I. 128
- Saint Pierre: commands Fort le Bœuf, I. 294
- St. Pierre: retained by France in Treaty of Paris, I. 336
- St. Thomas Island: failure of proposed purchase, IV. 1438
- Salary Grab, The, IV. 1463
- Salem: arrival of settlers under Endicott, I. 157; removal of Winthrop from, I. 158; government of colony, I. 159; religious dissension in, I. 160; persecutions for witchcraft, I. 164; becomes seat of government of Massachusetts, I. 375
- Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, Marquis de: refuses to recall Lord Sackville, IV. 1564; the Venezuelan affair, IV. 1609
- Salmon Falls: attack on, I. 271
- Salt Lake: Mormon empire founded at, IV. 1585
- Salzburgers: as American colonists, I. 220
- Samar: visited by Magellan, I. 66
- Samoan Dispute, The, IV. 1577
- Samoset: welcomes Englishmen, I. 153
- Sampson, William Thomas: commands North Atlantic Squadron, IV. 1651; controversy with Schley, IV. 1664
- San Antonio: army stores given to Confederates, III. 1139
- San Domingo: settled, I. 59; failure of expedition to, II. 697; see also Dominican Republic
- San Francisco: growth in 1849, III. 1004
- San Ildifonso, Treaty of, II. 694
- San Jacinto: battle of, III. 917
- San Jacinto*: in the *Trent* Affair, III. 1188
- San Jacinto, Hero of: see Houston, Sam
- San Juan, Central America: waterway communication seized by Central American States, III. 1046; bombardment of, III. 1067
- San Juan Hill: battle of, IV. 1654; Roosevelt distinguished at, IV. 1710
- San Miguel: founded, I. 68
- San Salvador: discovered by Columbus, I. 54
- Sanborn, Benjamin H.: John Brown aided by, III. 1111
- Sandys, Sir Edwin: appointed counselor, I. 106
- Sangamon River: Lincoln family settle on, III. 1101
- Sanitary Commission, The: work of, III. 1360
- Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de: attempts to change form of government, III. 915; orders garrison of the Alamo to be shot, III. 916; defeated at San Jacinto, III. 917; captured, III. 917; defeated at Buena Vista, III. 937; at battle of Cerro Gordo, III. 938
- Santa Fé founded, I. 77; occupied by Kearny, III. 937

*Santa Maria*: fitted out for Columbus, I. 52; wrecked, I. 55

Santee: battle of the, II. 502

Santiago de Cuba: *Virginus* trial at, IV. 1452; naval battle of, IV. 1654; surrenders to General Shafter, IV. 1657

Santo Domingo: Roosevelt urges treaty with, IV. 1721

Saratoga: battle of, II. 453

Sargent, John: nominated for President, II. 867

Savage Station: battle at, III. 1242

Savannah: founded by Oglethorpe, I. 145; only town during colonial period of Georgia, I. 147; captured by British, II. 485; population in time of Jackson, II. 835; captured by Sherman, III. 1330

Saybrook: established, I. 165

Saye and Sele, William Finnes, Viscount: proprietor Connecticut Colony, I. 166; secures charter for Connecticut, I. 169

Sayle, William: brings settlers from Barbadoes, I. 137

"Scalawags": meaning of term, IV. 1416

Schenck, Robert Cumming: in Joint High Commission, IV. 1446

Schenectady: attack on, I. 271

Schley, Winfield Scott: commands Flying Squadron, IV. 1651; in battle of Santiago, IV. 1657; controversy with Sampson, IV. 1664

Schofield, John McAllister: in Sherman's march to Atlanta, III. 1307; attacked by Hood, III. 1325; joins Sherman at Goldsboro, III. 1334; Secretary of War, III. 1403; retires from cabinet, IV. 1413; retained in Grant's cabinet, IV. 1413

Schools, Public: established in Massachusetts, I. 239; in the South, III. 992

Schurman, Jacob Gould: member of the Philippine commission, IV. 1674

Schurz, Carl: joins liberal movement, IV. 1454; Secretary of the Interior, IV. 1491; opposes election of Blaine (1884), IV. 1534

Schuyler, Philip: appointed major general, I. 395; abandons Fort Ed-

ward, II. 448; censured, II. 448; relieved from command of army in New York, II. 452; in first Congress, II. 606

Sclopis, Count: in Geneva Commission, IV. 1448

Scotch: included in Penn's Colony, I. 202

Scotch-Irish: arrive in Virginia, I. 124; aid settlement of Pennsylvania, I. 202; in Pennsylvania and other colonies, I. 219

Scott, Dred: famous case of, III. 1088

Scott, Winfield: in War of 1812, II. 733, 745, 763; victory at Chippewa, II. 749; sent to Canadian border, II. 891; proposed as nominee for Whig Party, III. 895; at battle of Cerro Gordo, III. 938; sent to Mexico, III. 938; opposes peace commissioner, III. 944; candidate for President, III. 950; receives Presidential nomination (1852), III. 1036; in the campaign of 1852, III. 1038; advises the garrisoning of Southern forts, III. 1146; protects Lincoln at inauguration, III. 1161; approves plan of battle for Bull Run, III. 1197; succeeded by McClellan, III. 1236; early army comrade of Lee, III. 1242

Scranton, Pennsylvania: riots at, during railroad strikes, IV. 1495

Seal Fisheries: dispute in Behring Sea, IV. 1580

Sea of Darkness: see Atlantic Ocean

Search Warrants, General: issued by British Government to be used in colonies, I. 349

Secession: threats of disunion in Constitutional Convention, II. 580; agitated in New England in War of 1812, II. 760; threatened by Georgia on account of interference in land surveys, II. 820; agitated on account of protective tariff, II. 822; suggested by the opposition to admission of Louisiana, III. 964; Calhoun's speech of 1850, III. 1015; proposed by Nashville Convention (1850), III. 1024; advocated in Mississippi, III. 1025; in campaign of 1856, III. 1084; South threatened,

- III. 1117; campaign of 1860, III. 1125; of Southern States, III. 1127; Greeley quoted on right of, III. 1169
- "Secretary Dynasty," II. 808
- Sectional feeling; on land question, II. 853; increased by Jackson's methods, II. 871; exemplified in attitude toward execution of John Brown, III. 1114; see also Civil War
- Sedgwick, John: retreats before Lee, III. 1262
- Sedition Act: Federalists enact, II. 664
- Selectmen: election and duties of, I. 215
- Seminary Ridge: in battle of Gettysburg, III. 1278; Lee masses forces on, III. 1279
- Seminole Indians: location, I. 11; removed to Indian Territory, II. 851; trouble with, II. 878; removed to Indian Territory, II. 892; Indian Territory acquired from, IV. 1588
- Seminole War, The First: in East Florida, II. 779
- Seminole War, The Second: account of, II. 879; cost of, II. 892; Taylor defeats Indians, III. 996
- Semmes, Raphael: commands the *Alabama*, IV. 1442
- Senate of the United States: composition, II. 588; salary of members, II. 614
- Senegal: ceded to England, I. 336
- Separatists: see Puritans
- Serapis*: fight with the *Bonhomme Richard*, II. 528
- Sergeant, John: as delegate to Panama Congress, II. 817
- Serpent Mound, I. 8
- Servants, Indented: status of, I. 225
- Seven Cities of Cibola: search for, I. 74
- Seven Days' Battles: account of, III. 1242
- Seven Pines: Union victory at, III. 1238
- Seventh of March Speech, Webster's, III. 1016
- Sevier, John: at battle of King's Mountain, II. 502
- Sewall, Arthur: nominated for Vice President (1896), IV. 1632
- Sewall, Samuel: first anti-slavery agitator in Massachusetts, I. 225
- Seward, William Henry: opposes nomination of Clay for Presidency, III. 895; influence over Taylor, III. 999; speech on compromise measures, III. 1018; aids slaves to escape from South, III. 1032; proposes repeal of Missouri Compromise, III. 1054; answers Douglas's speech (1853), III. 1056; leader of Republican Party, III. 1082; favors Douglas's reelection, III. 1098; speech at Rochester, III. 1107; his principles blamed for John Brown's raid, III. 1114; sketch of, III. 1120; quoted on Buchanan's speech of Dec. 4, 1860, III. 1149; Lincoln's Secretary of State, III. 1162; denies that the Confederacy is an independent nation, III. 1163; disavows act of Captain Wilkes, III. 1189; on Sherman and Farragut, III. 1323; in Hampton Roads Conference, III. 1336; attempted assassination of, III. 1365; advises Johnson as to reconstruction of the South, III. 1373; prepares veto message for Tenure of Office Act, III. 1401; on French occupation of Mexico, IV. 1432; concludes Russian treaty, IV. 1436; ambitions for American expansion, IV. 1437; alarm over the *Alabama*, IV. 1442; negotiates treaty with China, IV. 1496
- Seymour, Horatio: Governor of New York, III. 1275; in Democratic Convention, III. 1321; nominated President, IV. 1410
- Shadrach: rescued by Boston mob, III. 1030
- Shafter, William Rufus: in Santiago campaign, IV. 1653; receives surrender of Santiago, IV. 1657
- Shaftsbury, Earl of: see Berkeley, Sir John
- Shannon*, British frigate: defeats *Chesapeake*, II. 741
- Sharpsburg: battle of Antietam, near, III. 1248
- Shawnee Indians: belong to Algonquian stock, I. 11; trouble in Northwest, II. 726



- Shays' Daniel: leads insurrection, II. 567
- Shays's Rebellion, II. 567, 573
- Shelburne, Lord: see Petty, William
- Shelby, Isaac: at battle of King's Mountain, II. 502
- Shenandoah*: built in English ship yard, IV. 1442
- Shenandoah Valley: settled by Scotch-Irish, I. 124; occupied by General Patterson, III. 1197; campaign in, III. 1239; Jackson's military genius in, III. 1263; Sheridan's campaign in, III. 1298; political effect of devastation in, III. 1322
- Shepherdstown: Lee arrives at, III. 1274
- Shepley, General: military governor of Louisiana, III. 1374
- Sheridan, Philip Henry: sent to attack Lee's flank, III. 1292; in Shenandoah Valley, III. 1298; defeats Early at Opequan Creek, III. 1300; criticised for devastations, III. 1303; at Five Forks, III. 1337; sent to Texas, IV. 1435
- Sherman, John: in contest for Speaker of the House, III. 1115; Secretary of the Treasury, IV. 1491; prepares for resumption of specie payments, IV. 1500; Presidential nominee, IV. 1504; nominated by Garfield, IV. 1506; loses Presidential nomination to Garfield, IV. 1507; candidate for Presidential nomination, IV. 1561; prepares Anti-Trust Act, IV. 1570; the fur seal controversy, IV. 1640
- Sherman, Roger: delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 378; member of committee to draft a declaration of independence, I. 417; in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; in first Congress, II. 605
- Sherman, William Tecumseh: at battle of Pittsburg Landing, III. 1216; in siege of Vicksburg, III. 1268; at Vicksburg, III. 1270; Georgia campaign, III. 1290; expels inhabitants of Atlanta, III. 1314; political effect of his victories, III. 1322; official report of his march through Georgia, III. 1331; approves Lincoln's reconstruction plans, III. 1378
- Sherman Silver Law: account of, IV. 1574; causes panic of 1893, IV. 1601
- Shiloh, Battle of: see Pittsburg Landing
- Shipbuilding: in New England, I. 231
- Shippen, Miss Margaret: engaged to Benedict Arnold, II. 493
- Shirley, William: plans capture of Louisburg, I. 281; son killed at Fort Du Quesne, I. 306; plans attack on Fort Niagara, I. 312
- Sickles, Daniel Edgar: at Gettysburg, III. 1278
- Sigsbee, Charles Dwight: advises against haste in the *Maine* affair, IV. 1645
- Silliman, Benjamin: American scientist, II. 841
- Simms, William Gilmore: novelist, I. 139
- Sims: case of, III. 1030
- Siouan Indians: independent of other families, I. 10; early migrations, I. 11
- Sioux Indians: war with the United States, IV. 1475
- Sitkan Island: awarded to United States, IV. 1691
- Sitting Bull: leader of Indian war, IV. 1475
- Six Nations: see Iroquois Indians
- 1660, Act of: see Act of 1660
- Skrellings: name given to natives of America by Northmen, I. 32
- Slade, William: champion of the abolitionists, III. 977
- Slaves, Slavery and Slave Trade: slavery among the Indians, I. 25; slavery introduced in Virginia, I. 115; slaves brought to South Carolina, I. 137; use of Indians as slaves, I. 139; law against fugitive slaves in New England confederation, I. 174; slavery practiced in Penn's colony, I. 201; statistics at the outbreak of the Revolution, I. 219, I. 221; status at outbreak of the Revolution, I. 223, 228; slave trade compromise of the Constitution, II. 583; proposal to prohibit it in the Northwest Ter-

- ritory, II. 570; prohibited in Northwest Territory, II. 571; Louisiana Purchase affects, II. 700; suppression of slave trade agreed to in treaty of Ghent, II. 758; fugitives seek refuge in East Florida, II. 778; comparison of conditions in North and South, II. 788; effect of cotton gin, II. 789; growth of sentiment against, II. 790; agreement between Great Britain and United States for suppression of slave trade, III. 912; abolished in Mexico, III. 915; controversy over annexation of Texas, III. 919; Presidential election of 1848, III. 954; rise of the controversy, III. 955; question in Territories, III. 1000; prohibited in California, III. 1007; Compromise of 1850, III. 1011; Calhoun's idea of slavery, III. 1014; Dred Scott case, III. 1088; constitutionality of exclusion from Territories, III. 1090; citizenship of the negro under Federal Constitution, III. 1091; plenary powers of Congress, III. 1092; feeling in Kansas, III. 1094; Lecompton Constitution, III. 1094; Lincoln's utterances respecting slavery, III. 1102; John Brown's convictions concerning, III. 1110; Helper's view of the system, III. 1116; Confederacy forbids importation of slaves, III. 1145; abolished by purchase in District of Columbia, III. 1250; abolished in Territories, III. 1250; Confiscation Act (1862), III. 1250; Emancipation Proclamation (preliminary), III. 1256; abolished by thirteenth amendment, III. 1385; negro suffrage question, IV. 1408, 1512; negro suffrage endorsed by Chase, IV. 1410; negro suffrage in Democratic platform (1868), IV. 1411; influence of carpet-bag rule in South, IV. 1416; Ku-Klux-Klan, IV. 1421; rights of the negro in South, IV. 1428; Force Bill, IV. 1569
- Slidell, John: sent to Mexico, III. 931; appointed Confederate representative at Paris, III. 1188
- Sloat, John Drake: sent to seize California, III. 936
- Slocum, Henry Warner: commands Army of the Cumberland, III. 1329; commands Sherman's left, III. 1332
- Sloughter, Henry: appointed governor, I. 188
- Smith, Adam: publishes his "Wealth of Nations," I. 343
- Smith, Adamson: in first Congress, II. 606
- Smith, Caleb: Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior, III. 1163
- Smith, Charles Ferguson: at siege of Fort Donelson, III. 1210
- Smith, Edmund Kirby: at battle of Bull Run, III. 1199; surrenders the forces of the West, III. 1345
- Smith, Gerrit: member of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973; heads negro rescue at Syracuse, III. 1031; aids cause of negro abduction, III. 1032; John Brown aided by, III. 1111; becomes insane, III. 1113.
- Smith, Green Clay: nominated for President (1876), IV. 1482
- Smith, Hoke: Secretary of the Interior, IV. 1600, note
- Smith, Hyrum: murdered by mob, IV. 1585
- Smith, Jacob Hurd: court-martialed, IV. 1675
- Smith, John: sketch of, I. 108; explores coast of New England, I. 156
- Smith, Joseph: founder of Mormonism, IV. 1584
- Smuggling in the Spanish-American colonies, I. 80; in New England prior to the Revolution, I. 347; under Jefferson's Embargo Act, II. 718; troubles in East Florida, II. 778
- Smyth, Joseph: Mormon prophet murdered by mob, IV. 1585
- Smythe, Alexander: succeeds Van Rensselaer, II. 733
- Smythe, Sir Thomas: appointed counselor, I. 106
- Social Conditions: in the South previous to Civil War, III. 988
- Social Democratic Party: Debs nominated President by, IV. 1707
- Socialist Labor Party: nominates Simon Wing for President (1892), IV.

- 1597; Presidential nomination of 1904, IV. 1707
- Social Life: in colonies, I. 264; effect of strong sectional feeling on, III. 1117
- Society of Jesus: see Jesus, Society of
- Sons of Liberty: of New York, propose general congresses, I. 377
- Sothel, Seth: Governor of Carolina, I. 135
- Soto, Hernando de: explorations of, I. 75; death, I. 77
- Soulé, Pierre: minister to Spain, III. 1043; Ostend Manifesto, III. 1047; resigns as minister, III. 1048; demands indemnity for *Black Warrior* Affair, III. 1067
- South, The: opposes government aid in internal improvements, II. 775; effect of cotton gin on conditions in, II. 789; protective tariff question, II. 801, 822; opposes "tariff of abominations," II. 826; comparison of population in time of Jackson, II. 835; attitude toward Carolina and nullification, II. 863; military governments withdrawn from, IV. 1423; political disabilities removed, IV. 1427; reclaimed from carpet-bag rule, IV. 1427; becomes Democratic "Solid South," IV. 1512; regard for McKinley, IV. 1683; see also Confederacy, The
- South America: Columbus first sees, I. 59; Spain's trouble with colonies in, II. 780; interference of Holy Alliance, II. 782; condition of black race in republics of, II. 818; revolt against Spanish rule, IV. 1642
- South Carolina: settlement of Port Royal, I. 84; colony planted in, I. 135; united with North Carolina, I. 135; separated and made royal province, I. 136, 141; first permanent settlement, I. 137; Scotch-Irish settle in, I. 220; slave code, I. 223; the cultivation of rice, I. 234; the cultivation of indigo, I. 235; colonial newspapers, I. 248; colonial suffrage laws, I. 254; Church of England established, I. 256; sends supplies to Boston, I. 377; refuses to surrender power of regulating com-

merce, II. 561; fails to pay her share of national government expenses (1781), II. 563; chooses delegates for Constitutional Convention, II. 575; ratifies the Constitution, II. 597; favors financial plans of Hamilton, II. 621; denounces protective tariff, II. 802, 822, 860; Ordinance of Nullification, II. 861; test oath for public office, II. 862; not represented in second Democratic National Convention, II. 883; delegates oppose slavery clause in Declaration of Independence, III. 957; abolition literature taken from the mails at Charleston, III. 975; opposition to compromise measures (1850), III. 1023, 1026; delegates withdrawn from Democratic Convention, III. 1119; secession, III. 1127; Confederates seize Forts Pinckney, Moultrie and Sumter, III. 1139; appoints commissioners to negotiate for delivery of government property to State authorities, III. 1155; indignation over Major Anderson's occupation of Fort Sumter, III. 1156; takes possession of Fort Moultrie, III. 1157; legislature approves action of troops who fired on the *Star of the West*, III. 1158; Sherman's march through, III. 1332; loss of military population, III. 1360; reconstruction effects, IV. 1417, 1419; negro franchise, IV. 1427; Presidential election of 1876, IV. 1483; collapse of the "negro carpet-bag" government, IV. 1490

#### COLONIAL GOVERNORS

William Sayle .....	1669-1671
Joseph West .....	1671
Sir John Yeamans.....	1671-1674
Joseph West .....	1674-1682
John Morton .....	1682-1684
Joseph West .....	1684
Richard Kirk ..	1684
Robert Quarry .....	1684-1685
Joseph Morton .....	1685-1686
James Colleton .....	1686-1690
Seth Sothel .....	1690-1692
Philip Ludwell .....	1692-1693
Thomas Smith .....	1693-1694

Joseph Blake .....1694-1695  
 John Archdale .....1695-1696  
 Joseph Blake .....1696-1700  
 James Moore .....1700-1703  
 Sir Nathaniel Jonson....1703-1709  
 Edward Tynte .....1709-1710  
 Robert Gibbs .....1710-1712  
 Charles Craven .....1712-1716  
 Robert Daniel .....1716-1717  
 Robert Johnson .....1717-1719  
 James Moore ..... 1719  
 Arthur Middleton .....1719-1721  
 Francis Nicholson .....1721-1725  
 Arthur Middleton .....1725-1730  
 Robert Johnson .....1730-1735  
 Thomas Broughton .....1735-1737  
 William Bull .....1737-1743  
 James Glen .....1743-1756  
 William H. Littleton....1756-1760  
 William Bull .....1760-1762  
 Thomas Boone .....1762-1763  
 William Bull .....1763-1766  
 Charles Montague .....1766-1769  
 William Bull .....1769-1775  
 William Campbell ..... 1775

## STATE GOVERNORS

John Rutledge (pres.)....1775-1778  
 Rawlins Lowndes (pres.)..1778-1779  
 John Rutledge (gov.)....1779-1782  
 John Mathews .....1782-1783  
 Benj. Guerard .....1783-1785  
 William Moultrie .....1785-1787  
 Thomas Pinckney .....1787-1789  
 Charles Pinckney .....1789-1792  
 Arnoldus Vanderhorst ...1792-1794  
 William Moultrie .....1794-1796  
 Charles Pinckney .....1796-1798  
 Edward Rutledge .....1798-1800  
 John Drayton .....1800-1802  
 James B. Richardson....1802-1804  
 Paul Hamilton .....1804-1806  
 Charles Pinckney .....1806-1808  
 John Drayton .....1808-1810  
 Henry Middleton .....1810-1812  
 Joseph Alston .....1812-1814  
 David R. Williams.....1814-1816  
 Andrew Pickens .....1816-1818  
 John Geddes .....1818-1820  
 Thomas Bennett .....1820-1822  
 John L. Wilson.....1822-1824  
 Richard J. Manning.....1824-1826  
 John Taylor .....1826-1828

Stephen D. Miller.....1828-1830  
 James Hamilton .....1830-1832  
 Robert Y. Hayne.....1832-1834  
 George McDuffie .....1834-1836  
 Pierce M. Butler.....1836-1838  
 Patrick Noble .....1838-1840  
 B. K. Hennegan (acting).. 1840  
 John P. Richardson.....1840-1842  
 James H. Hammond.....1842-1844  
 William Aiken .....1844-1846  
 David Johnson .....1846-1848  
 W. B. Seabrook.....1848-1850  
 John H. Means.....1850-1852  
 John L. Manning.....1852-1854  
 James H. Adams.....1854-1856  
 Robert F. W. Allston...1856-1858  
 William H. Gist.....1858-1860  
 Francis W. Pickens.....1860-1862  
 Milledge L. Bonham.....1862-1864  
 A. G. Magrath.....1864-1865  
 Benj. F. Perry (prov.).. 1865  
 James L. Orr.....1865-1868  
 Robert K. Scott.....1868-1873  
 Franklin J. Moses, Jr....1873-1874  
 Daniel H. Chamberlain...1875-1877  
 Wade Hampton .....1877-1879  
 W. D. Simpson (acting)..1879-1880  
 T. B. Jeter (acting)..... 1880  
 Johnson Hagood .....1880-1882  
 Hugh S. Thompson .....1882-1886  
 John C. Sheppard (acting) 1886  
 John P. Richardson.....1886-1890  
 Benj. R. Tillman.....1890-1894  
 John Gary Evans.....1894-1897  
 William H. Ellerbe.....1897-1899  
 M. B. McSweeney.....1899-1902  
 Duncan C. Heyward.....1902—

South Carolina Exposition: Calhoun's  
 Statement of Nullification, so  
 called, II. 858.

South Church, Old: see Old South Meet-  
 ing House

South Dakota: part of Northwest Ter-  
 ritory, III. 1051; admitted to the  
 Union, IV. 1591; Presidential elec-  
 tion of 1892, IV. 1599

## GOVERNORS

Arthur C. Mellette.....1889-1893  
 Charles H. Sheldon.....1893-1897  
 Andrew Lee .....1897-1901  
 Charles N. Herreid.....1901-1905  
 Samuel H. Elrod.....1905—



- Southern Gentlemen: see Gentlemen, Southern
- Southern Pacific Railroad: Gadsden Treaty, III. 1066
- Southampton County, Virginia: slave uprising, III. 974
- South Mountain, Battle of: see Boonsboro, Battle of
- South Sea: see Pacific Ocean
- South Sea Company of Sweden: abandon settlements on Delaware, I. 184; founds settlements in Delaware, I. 190
- Southwest: development of, II. 775
- Spain: Pinckney's treaty with, II. 642; cedes Louisiana to France, II. 694; boundary dispute with the United States, II. 778; cedes Florida, II. 779; in joint intervention against Mexico, IV. 1430; Cuban insurrection (1868), IV. 1451; decline of her power in the Western Hemisphere, IV. 1641; arbitration treaty of, with the United States, IV. 1719
- Spanish-American Colonies: extent, I. 77; government, I. 78; education, I. 80; commerce and trade, I. 80
- Spanish-American War: Congress authorizes President to interfere in Cuba, IV. 1647; first shot fired, IV. 1648; President calls for troops, IV. 1648; battle of Manila Bay, IV. 1652; surrender of Santiago de Cuba, IV. 1657; conquest of Porto Rico, IV. 1658; protocol signed IV. 1658; treaty of peace signed, IV. 1661; mismanagement of the commissariat, IV. 1663
- Spanish Armada: see Armada, Spanish
- Spanish Spoliation Claims: see Florida, Purchase of
- Spanish Succession, War of, I. 274
- Special Legislation: evil of, attributed to Jackson, II. 853
- Speedwell*: carries Pilgrims from Leyden, I. 150
- Spoils System: introduced by Jefferson, II. 689; development of, IV. 1521
- Spoliation Claims: against France, II. 880
- Spooner Act: passed, IV. 1695
- Spot Resolutions: introduced by Lincoln, III. 1101
- Spottswood, Alexander: Governor of Virginia, I. 123
- Spottsylvania Court House: battle of, III. 1292
- Springfield, Illinois: Lincoln removes to, III. 1101; Populist Party Convention at, IV. 1707
- Spring Hill: Hood's defeat at, III. 1325
- Squanto: instructs Pilgrims in agriculture, I. 153; negotiates treaty with Massasoit, I. 153
- Squatter Sovereignty, Doctrine of, III. 1034; practical working of, III. 1072
- Staempfli, Jacob: in Geneva Commission, IV. 1448
- "Stalwarts," The: Republican faction so named, IV. 1516; accession to power, IV. 1519
- Stamp Act: proposed, I. 351; passed (1765), I. 355; opposition to, in America, I. 359; opposition in England, I. 361; repealed, I. 363
- Standard Oil Trust: character of, IV. 1571
- Stanley, Edward Henry Smith, Earl of Derby: opposes settlement Alabama claims, IV. 1445
- Stanton, Edwin McMasters: alarm over victories of *Merrimac*, III. 1232; aids Governor of Indiana, III. 1352; breaks the news of Lincoln's death, III. 1365; quarrel with President Johnson, III. 1397; prepares veto message for Tenure of Office Act, III. 1401; resigns as Secretary of War, III. 1403; appointed justice of Supreme Court, III. 1464; his removal causes breach between Johnson and Grant, IV. 1412
- Stanwix, Fort: British attempt to capture, II. 450
- Star of the West*: sent to Charleston, III. 1158
- "Star route" frauds, IV. 1520
- "Star Spangled Banner": written, II. 752
- Stark, John: serves in expedition against Ticonderoga, I. 321; joins troops at Boston, I. 386; estimate of, I. 400; defeats British at Bennington, II. 449; made brigadier general, II. 450

- "Starving-time" at Jamestown, I. 110  
 State, Department of: organized, II. 610  
 State Banks: government deposits in, under Jackson, II. 876  
 States: powers limited in Constitution, II. 587; power of Congress to impose conditions on admission of, II. 791  
 States Rights: in Washington's administration, II. 648; reaction in favor of, II. 668; agitated in War of 1812, II. 761; in decisions of Supreme Court, II. 773; sovereignty maintained by Georgia, II. 820; Jackson's sympathy with, II. 852  
 Steamboat: invention of, II. 703; on Western waterways, II. 835  
 Stearns, George P.: John Brown aided by, III. 1111  
 Steele's Bayou: in Vicksburg campaign, III. 1268  
 Stephen, General: at battle of German-town, II. 459  
 Stephens, Alexander Hamilton: fathers Kansas-Nebraska Bill, III. 1059; opposes secession of Georgia, III. 1133; elected President of Confederacy, III. 1140; earlier career, III. 1142; concludes convention with Virginia, III. 1174; in Hampton Roads Conference, III. 1336  
 Sterling, General: taken prisoner by English, II. 424  
 Steuben, Frederick Wilhelm August Henderich Ferdinand von, Baron: drills American soldiers, II. 464; his services to America, II. 482; in centennial of Cornwallis's surrender, IV. 1525  
 Stevens, John L.: recognizes the provisional government of Hawaii, IV. 1606  
 Stevens, Thaddeus: aids cause of negro abduction, III. 1032; opposes Lincoln, III. 1318; opposed to Lincoln's reconstruction plans, III. 1378  
 Stevenson, Adlai Ewing: nominated for Vice President (1892), IV. 1595; nominated for Vice President (1900), IV. 1668  
 Stewart, Alexander Turney: chosen by Grant for cabinet, IV. 1412; declared ineligible, IV. 1413  
 Stewart, Robert, Marquis of Londonderry (until father's death was known as Viscount Castlereagh): quoted on Jefferson's Embargo Act, II. 718  
 Stith, William: historical writings of, I. 246  
 Stock-raising: in the colonies, I. 229  
 Stockton, Robert Field: sent to seize California, III. 936  
 Stoddert, Benjamin: first Secretary of the Navy, II. 662  
 Stoeckel, Baron: in Alaska purchase, IV. 1436  
 Stone, William: imprisoned by Puritans, I. 131  
 Stone Age, I. 8  
 Stone River: winter quarters of Bragg at Murfreesborough on, III. 1266  
 Storms, Cape of: see Cape of Good Hope  
 Story, Joseph: describes Jackson's inauguration, II. 841  
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher: aids cause of negro abduction, III. 1032; publishes "Uncle Tom's Cabin," III. 1060  
 Strabo: believes the earth to be a sphere, I. 38  
 Straits of Magellan: discovered, I. 66  
 Strict Constructionists: origin, II. 623  
 Strong, Caleb: member of Massachusetts ratifying convention, II. 597; in first Congress, II. 606  
 Strong, William: member of the electoral commission, IV. 1486, note  
 Strong, William L.: reform administration of, in New York, IV. 1709  
 Stuart, James Ewell Brown: commands Lee's advance, III. 1246; commands rear guard, III. 1274; mortally wounded at battle of Yellow Tavern, III. 1292  
 Stuyvesant, Peter: Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam, I. 183; surrenders to Duke of York, I. 185  
 Suffrage: New England qualifications for, I. 254; disfranchisement of free negroes, II. 838; general extension of, II. 838; see also Slaves  
 Sugar Act, British: evaded by colonists, I. 231; passed (1733), I. 345  
 Sumner, Charles: quoted on the nomination of Van Buren in 1848, III. 953; signs address against Douglas,

- III. 1055; replies to Douglas's speech (1853), III. 1056; assaulted by Preston Brooks, III. 1077; opposed to Lincoln's reconstruction plans, III. 1378; in Congress (1869), IV. 1414; advised of Alaska purchase, IV. 1436; breach with Grant, IV. 1439; supports Alaska treaty, IV. 1439; on Johnson-Clarendon treaty, IV. 1445; his speech on Republicanism vs. Grantism, IV. 1454; joins liberal movement, IV. 1454; Lamar's tribute to, IV. 1492
- Sumner, Edwin Vose: saves victory at Seven Pines, III. 1238
- Sumter, Thomas: sketch of, II. 490; in first Congress, II. 606
- Superstition: in religious worship of New England, I. 253
- Supreme Court of the United States: provided for in Constitution, II. 593; elevated by Marshall, II. 687; denounced by the Democratic Party, IV. 1631
- Supreme Court Decisions: decision on limitation of powers of State, II. 773; decision on implied powers under Constitution, II. 773; Jackson combats United States Bank decision, II. 849; favoring Indians in Georgia suit, II. 851; on constitutionality of United States Bank, II. 870; the Dred Scott decision, III. 1088; sustaining negro disfranchisement in South, IV. 1427; respecting social rights of negro, IV. 1428; The Legal Tender Act, IV. 1467; against railroad merger, IV. 1571; sustains act of Congress restoring State prohibition laws, IV. 1572; sustains legislation against lotteries, IV. 1573; respecting Mormon polygamy, IV. 1586; constitutionality of Foraker Act, IV. 1673; right of colonial subjects to trial by jury, IV. 1678
- Susan Constant*: carries settlers to Virginia, I. 106
- Sutter, Captain: discovers gold in California, III. 1002
- Swallow, Silas C.: Prohibition nominee for President, IV. 1707
- Swartwout: defaulter, III. 894
- Sweden: commercial treaty with the United States, II. 617; appoints Behring Sea arbitrator, IV. 1582
- Swedes: claims in Delaware, I. 190; invited to remain in Penn's colony, I. 198; in New Jersey and Delaware, I. 219
- Switzerland: arbitration treaty of, with the United State, IV. 1719
- Syracuse, New York: rescue of negro (1851), III. 1031; popular respect to Lincoln's remains, III. 1367

## T

- Taft, William Howard: head of provisional government for Philippine Islands, IV. 1674
- Tallahassee: built in English shipyard, IV. 1442
- Tallahatchie River: Grant attempts passage of, III. 1268
- Talleyrand, Périgord Charles Maurice de, Prince de Bénévent: American envoys refused audience with, II. 660; consents to receive ambassador, II. 663
- Tallmadge, James W.: proposes amendment prohibiting slavery in Missouri, II. 792
- Tallmadge Amendment: dispute over, II. 795
- Tamasese: made King of Samoa by Germany, IV. 1578
- Tammany Hall: in election of 1888, IV. 1565; returns to power in New York, IV. 1710
- Taney, Roger Brooke: appointed Secretary of Treasury, II. 873; in Dred Scott decision, III. 1089; controversy with Lincoln, III. 1348
- Tanning Industry: started in the South, III. 1358
- Tappan, Lewis: secretary of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973
- Tarascos: found in Mexico, I. 9
- Tariff: Act of 1789, I. 617; demand for protection of, II. 768; protective character of Act of 1816, II. 769; Webster opposes, II. 769; Calhoun advocates, II. 770; Clay advocates, II. 770; Act of 1824, II. 798; Tariff of 1824 causes dissatisfaction, II. 11

- 821; in Calhoun's theory of nullification, II. 858; measures of July, 1832, II. 860; reduced by Congress, II. 864; law of 1842, III. 910; law of 1846, III. 910, 947; in Democratic platform, IV. 1510; Act of 1864, IV. 1524; Act of 1870, IV. 1524; Act of 1872, IV. 1524; Act of 1883, IV. 1524; revision demanded by Republicans of the West, IV. 1524; issue in 1888, IV. 1558; Cleveland's views on, IV. 1559; protective character of McKinley Law, IV. 1566
- Tarleton, Sir Banastre: at battle of Cowpens, II. 504
- Tassels, the Cherokee: condemned for murder, in Georgia Court, II. 850
- Taxation: equality of, granted in New York, I. 186; reserved to Parliament by Penn's charter, I. 197; Tariff Act of 1789, II. 617; on circulation of second United States Bank sought by Maryland, II. 772; Acts of 1870, 1872, and 1873, IV. 1466; tariff question in campaign of 1884, IV. 1534; Wilson Tariff Law, IV. 1604; revenue for Spanish-American War, IV. 1649
- "Taxation without Representation": opposed in New Jersey (1686-1702), I. 192
- Taylor, Richard: surrenders, III. 1345
- Taylor, Zachary (1784-1850), President of the United States, 1849-July 9, 1850; in command of Army of Occupation, III. 932; at battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, III. 934; at siege of Monterey, III. 936; occupies Matamoras, III. 936; candidate for President, III. 950; election, III. 953; early life, III. 996; character, III. 997; inauguration, III. 998; recommends admission of California, III. 1008; death, III. 1021
- Tecumseh: member of Shawnee tribe, I. 11; seeks to form Indian Confederacy, II. 726; killed at Battle of the Thames, II. 745
- Tecumseh*: destroyed in Mobile Bay, III. 1317
- Teller, Henry Moore: leader of Free Silver Republicans (1896), IV. 1629
- Temple of Music, Buffalo: McKinley shot during reception in, IV. 1683
- Teneriffe, Mount: see Mount Teneriffe
- Tennessee: Scotch-Irish and Germans settle, I. 220; riflemen at New Orleans, II. 753; admitted, II. 789; slave State, II. 790; charges of legislature against Adams and Clay, II. 811; legislature repudiates President, and renominates Jackson, II. 826; Jackson's removal to, II. 833; Polk elected governor (1839), III. 926; separates from North Carolina, III. 963; Presidential election of 1860, III. 1126; secedes, III. 1176; military operations in, III. 1207, 1264, 1285; effort to draw Sherman into, III. 1324; agriculture, III. 1372; reconstruction policy of Lincoln, III. 1374; reconstructed, III. 1376; Ku-Klux-Klan said to have originated in, IV. 1421; Democrats regain control, IV. 1426; yellow fever epidemic, IV. 1501

## GOVERNORS

(State of Franklin)

John Sevier.....1785-1788

(Territory South of the Ohio)

William Blount.....1790-1796

(State of Tennessee)

John Sevier.....1796-1801

Archibald Roane.....1801-1803

John Sevier.....1803-1809

William Blount.....1809-1815

Joseph McMinn.....1815-1821

William Carroll.....1821-1827

Sam Houston.....1827-1829

William Hall.....1829

William Carroll.....1829-1835

Newton Cannon.....1835-1839

James K. Polk.....1839-1841

James C. Jones.....1841-1845

Aaron V. Brown.....1845-1847

Neil S. Brown.....1847-1849

William Trousdale.....1849-1851

William B. Campbell.....1851-1853

Andrew Johnson.....1853-1857

Isham G. Harris.....1857-1861

Andrew Johnson.....1861-1865



William G. Brownlow.....1865-1869  
 DeWitt C. Senter.....1869-1871  
 John C. Brown.....1871-1875  
 James D. Porter.....1875-1879  
 Albert S. Marks.....1879-1881  
 Alvin Hawkins.....1881-1883  
 William B. Bate.....1883-1887  
 Robert L. Taylor.....1887-1891  
 John P. Buchanan.....1891-1893  
 Peter Turney.....1893-1895  
 H. Clay Evans.....1895-1897  
 Robert L. Taylor.....1897-1899  
 Benton McMillin.....1899-1901  
 Benton McMillin.....1901-1903  
 James B. Frazier.....1903-1905  
 John I. Cox.....1905—  
 Tenure of Office Act: passed, III. 1397;  
 modified, IV. 1414; repealed, IV.  
 1543  
 Territorial Expansion: national policy,  
 IV. 1579  
 Territories: powers of Congress over,  
 II. 791; exclusion of slavery from,  
 III. 1090; plenary powers of Con-  
 gress respecting slavery in, III.  
 1092; Jefferson Davis's resolutions  
 respecting slavery in, III. 1118  
*Terror*: placed in commission, IV. 1621  
 Terry, Alfred Howe: in expedition  
 against Sitting Bull, IV. 1475  
 Testaments, Old and New: see Bible  
 Texas: United States gives up claims  
 to, II. 780, III. 912; refused annex-  
 ation, II. 891; importation of slaves  
 forbidden, III. 915; efforts of  
 United States to purchase, III. 915;  
 united with Coahuila, III. 915; re-  
 volts against Mexico, III. 916;  
 declaration of independence adopt-  
 ed, III. 917; annexation of, III.  
 918; independence recognized, III.  
 918; annexed to the United States,  
 III. 924; western boundary dispute,  
 III. 1009; assumption of debt of  
 Texas in Compromise of 1850, III.  
 1011; boundary dispute with New  
 Mexico in Compromise of 1850, III.  
 1011; State elections of 1855, III.  
 1072; delegates withdraw from  
 Democratic Convention, III. 1119;  
 secession, III. 1135; Confederates  
 seize Fort Brown, III. 1139; com-  
 plies with Johnson's scheme of re-

construction, III. 1390; under mili-  
 tary rule, III. 1393; readmitted,  
 III. 1394; in Presidential election  
 (1868), IV. 1411; readmitted to  
 representation, IV. 1415; Demo-  
 crats regain control in, IV. 1426;  
 end of carpet-bag rule, IV. 1427

## PRESIDENTS OF REPUBLIC

Sam Houston.....1836-1838  
 M. B. Lamar.....1838-1841  
 Dr. Anson Jones.....1841  
 Sam Houston.....1841-1846

## STATE GOVERNORS

J. P. Henderson.....1846-1847  
 George T. Wood.....1847-1849  
 P. Hansboro Bell.....1849-1853  
 E. M. Pease.....1853-1857  
 H. R. Runnels.....1857-1859  
 Sam Houston.....1859-1861  
 Edward Clark.....1861  
 F. R. Lubbock.....1861-1863  
 P. Murrah.....1863-1865  
 A. J. Hamilton.....1865-1866  
 J. W. Throckmorton.....1866-1867  
 E. M. Pease.....1867-1870  
 E. J. Davis.....1870-1874  
 Richard Coke.....1874-1877  
 R. B. Hubbard.....1877-1879  
 Oran M. Roberts.....1879-1883  
 John Ireland.....1883-1887  
 Lawrence S. Ross.....1887-1891  
 James S. Hogg.....1891-1893  
 James S. Hogg.....1893-1895  
 Charles A. Culberson.....1895-1897  
 Charles A. Culberson.....1897-1899  
 Joseph D. Sayers.....1899-1901  
 Joseph D. Sayers.....1901-1903  
 S. W. T. Lanham.....1903—

Thames, The: battle of (1812), III.  
 900; death of Tecumseh at, II. 727  
 Thayendanegea: see Brant, Joseph  
 Thayer, Eli: directs organization of  
 Emigrant Aid Society, III. 1073  
 Thomas, George Henry: in Mexican  
 War, III. 947; early army comrade  
 of Lee, III. 1242; at Stone River,  
 III. 1266; saves Federal victory at  
 Chickamauga, III. 1285; his gen-  
 eralship, III. 1286; in Sherman's  
 march to Atlanta, III. 1307; sent to  
 oppose Hood, III. 1324; estimate of,  
 III. 1329

- Thomas, Jesse B.: proposes Missouri Compromise, II. 796
- Thompson, David: settles New Hampshire, I. 172
- Thompson, George: mobbed in Boston, III. 974
- Thompson, Jacob: influence over Buchanan, III. 1147; resigns from cabinet, III. 1158
- Thomson, Charles: organizes first United States Congress, II. 602
- Thornton, Sir Edward: proposes Joint High Commission for *Alabama* claims, IV. 1446
- "Thorough Scheme": III. 1391
- Thurman, Allen Granbery: in Democratic Convention, III. 1321; in Congress organized 1869, IV. 1414; member of the Electoral Commission, IV. 1486, note; nominated for Vice President, IV. 1560
- Ticonderoga: built, I. 314; English fail to capture, I. 321; captured by Ethan Allen, I. 390; recaptured by Burgoyne, II. 447
- Tien-Tsin: attacked by allied forces, IV. 1681
- Tilden, Samuel Jones: in Democratic Convention, III. 1321; elected Governor of New York, IV. 1464; early career, IV. 1481; nominated for President (1876), IV. 1481; election of 1876 claimed for, IV. 1482; declines Democratic nomination, IV. 1509
- Tippecanoe: battle of, II. 727, III. 900
- "Tippecanoe and Tyler too": III. 899
- Tithing-Man: duties of, I. 250
- Tobacco Industry: in Virginia, I. 115, 234
- Toledo: Wayne's victory near, II. 647; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159
- Toleration Act: I. 130
- Tompkins, Daniel D.: nominated for Vice President, II. 764
- Toombs, Robert: opposes slavery prohibition in Territories, III. 1001; Confederate Secretary of State, III. 1143; votes against Crittenden's compromise measures, III. 1153; opposes project to attack Fort Sumter, III. 1165
- Topeka, Kansas: meeting of Free Soil Convention, III. 1075
- Tordesillas, Treaty of, I. 56
- Tories: during the Revolution, II. 534; definition of, II. 541
- Toronto: burned by Americans, II. 746; British retaliate for burning of, II. 752
- Torrey, Charles: aids slaves to escape, III. 1032
- Toscanelli: his correspondence with Columbus, I. 46
- Totem Poles: elaborately decorated, I. 26
- Town, New England: unit of government, I. 214
- Town Meetings, I. 215
- Townsend-Esch Bill: refused action by Senate, IV. 1718
- Townshend, Charles: attempts to enforce the Declaratory Act, I. 364; succeeded by Lord North, I. 365
- Townshend Acts, I. 365; repealed, I. 367, 482
- Townships in the Middle Colonies, I. 218
- Trade, Board of: see Lords of Trade and Plantations
- Trafalgar: Napoleon defeated at, II. 713
- Transportation: canal facilities, II. 836; railway facilities, II. 837
- Transportation Act: passed, I. 376
- Travel, Means of: in colonies, I. 261
- Travis, Colonel: at siege of the Alamo, III. 916
- Treasury, Department of the: organized, II. 610; Independent Treasury Bill passed, II. 890; the Whisky Ring, IV. 1460
- Treaty of 1783: defects of, mended by Jay treaty, II. 640; fishery privileges under, II. 757; Great Britain determined to enforce, II. 777
- Treaty of 1819, III. 912, 927
- Treaty of 1854, III. 1066
- Trent Affair, The, III. 1187
- Trenton: battle of, II. 439; erects triumphal arch for Washington, II. 602; Lincoln makes speech at, III. 1159
- Trevett v. Weeden: case of, II. 566

- Trial by Jury: introduced in New York, I. 185; denied slaves, III. 1029
- Tribbles, T. H.: Populist nominee for Vice President, IV. 1707
- Trinidad: discovered, I. 59
- Tripoli: war with, II. 692
- Trist, Nicholas P.: authorized to negotiate treaty with Mexico, III. 944; concludes treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, III. 945
- Troup, George McIntosh: resents United States interference in Indian trouble in Georgia, II. 819; condemns Tassels, the Cherokee, II. 851
- True-blooded Yankee*: American privateer, II. 741
- Trumbull, Jonathan: in first Congress, II. 605
- Trumbull, Lyman: joins liberal movement, IV. 1454; candidate for Presidential nomination (1872), IV. 1456
- Trusts: legislation respecting, IV. 1570; recommendations in Roosevelt's message concerning, IV. 1685; "publicity bureau" created for, IV. 1687; legislation against, IV. 1687
- Truxton, Thomas: commands *Constellation*, II. 662
- Tryon, William: defeated at battle of Alamance, I. 371
- Tubman, Harriet: aids slaves to escape from South, III. 1031
- Tunis: immunity purchased from, II. 692
- Turks: capture Constantinople, I. 36
- Turner, George: in Alaskan boundary commission, IV. 1691
- Turner, Nat: heads slave uprising, III. 974
- Tuscarora Indians: have survived surrounding tribes, I. 30; massacre settlers in North Carolina, I. 136
- Tutuila Island: taken by United States, IV. 1579; annexed to the United States, IV. 1662
- Tuyl, Baron: Russian minister, II. 783
- Tweed Ring, IV. 1464
- Twenty-First Rule, III. 979
- Twiggs, David Emanuel: surrenders army stores to Confederates, III. 1139
- Two-ninety*: alias of the *Alabama*, IV. 1442
- Two Penny Act: passed, I. 260
- Tyler, John (1790-1862), President of the United States, April 4, 1841-1844: nominated for Vice President, III. 896; becomes President, III. 902; early career, III. 902; national bank question, III. 905; alienated from Whig Party, III. 909; settles dispute in Rhode Island, III. 910; annexation of Texas, III. 919, 924; renominated for President, III. 922; presiding officer of Compromise Convention, III. 1154; disapproves Nicaragua treaty, IV. 1692
- Tyng, Captain: given charge of Pepperell's fleet, I. 281

## U

- "Uncle Tom's Cabin": its effect, III. 1060
- Underground Railroad, III. 1031
- Union Pacific Railroad: built, IV. 1470
- Unitarians: denied rights of Toleration Act, I. 131
- United States: Aboriginal America, I. 3; Discoveries and Explorations, I. 31; The Planting of the Colonies, I. 104; Planting of the Colonies Continued, I. 148; Government of the Colonies, I. 203; Colonial Life and Institutions, I. 219; Inter-Colonial Wars, I. 270; The French and Indian War, I. 287; Rupture with the Mother Country I. 342; Revolution and Independence, I. 391; the Campaigns in the Middle Colonies, II. 423; The War in the Southern Colonies, II. 485; Transition from Colonies to States, II. 544; Establishment of the Republic II. 573; The First Eight Years of the Constitution, II. 601; The Federalist Supremacy, II. 653; Jeffersonian Republicanism, II. 676; The Second War with Great Britain, II. 720; The Era of

Good Feeling and Industrial Development, II. 764; Rise of the Democratic Party, II. 803; The Jacksonian Epoch, II. 830; The Whig Ascendancy, III. 893; Polk's Administration and the War with Mexico, III. 925; Rise of the Slavery Controversy, III. 955; Taylor-Fillmore Administration, III. 996; Pierce's Administration and the Renewal of the Slavery Controversy, III. 1040; Administration of Buchanan, III. 1087; Secession of Southern States, III. 1127; The Outbreak of the Civil War, III. 1169; The War in the West, III. 1202; Operations in the East, III. 1228; Vicksburg and Gettysburg, III. 1264; Last Year of the War, III. 1289; General Observations on the War, III. 1347; Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction, III. 1370; the Administration of President Grant and the Results of Reconstruction, IV. 1407; Grant's Second Term, IV. 1453; Hayes and the End of the Southern Question, IV. 1477; Garfield and Arthur, IV. 1502; Grover Cleveland and the Political Revolution, IV. 1527; the Administration of Benjamin Harrison, IV. 1558; Cleveland's Second Term, IV. 1593; William McKinley—the War with Spain, IV. 1627; Administration of Roosevelt, IV. 1683; Progress of a Century, IV. 1728; Bibliography, IV. 1749

## PRESIDENTS

George Washington.....1789-1797  
 John Adams.....1797-1801  
 Thomas Jefferson.....1801-1809  
 James Madison.....1809-1817  
 James Monroe.....1817-1825  
 John Quincy Adams.....1825-1829  
 Andrew Jackson.....1829-1837  
 Martin Van Buren.....1837-1841  
 Wm. Henry Harrison  
     1841-April 4, 1841  
 John Tyler.....April 4, 1841-1845  
 James Polk .....1845-1849  
 Zachary Taylor...1849-July 9, 1850  
 Millard Fillmore...July 9, 1850-1853  
 Franklin Pierce .....1853-1857

James Buchanan.....1857-1861  
 Abraham Lincoln

    1861-April 15, 1865  
 Andrew Johnson..April 15, 1865-1869  
 Ulysses S. Grant.....1869-1877  
 Rutherford B. Hayes....1877-1881  
 James A. Garfield

    1881-Sept. 19, 1881  
 Chester A. Arthur

    Sept. 19, 1881-1885  
 Grover Cleveland.....1885-1889  
 Benjamin Harrison.....1889-1893  
 Grover Cleveland.....1893-1897  
 William McKinley

    1897-Sept. 14, 1901  
 Theodore Roosevelt  
     Sept. 14, 1901—

*United States*: built, II. 662; captures *Macedonian*, II. 737

United States Bank: founded, II. 622; rechartered, II. 770; proposed, II. 771; Jackson opposed to recharter, II. 849; account of Jackson's war on, II. 869; Democratic Party opposes the renewal of its charter, III. 897; reestablishment question raised, III. 905

Utah: ceded to United States, III. 945; meeting of the Central and Union Pacific Railroads near Ogden, IV. 1470; admitted, IV. 1587

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Brigham Young .....1851-1857  
 Alfred Cumming .....1857-1861  
 John W. Dawson.....1861-1862  
 Stephen S. Harding.....1862-1863  
 James Duane Doty.....1863-1865  
 Charles Durkee .....1865-1870  
 J. Wilson Shaffer..... 1870  
 Vernon H. Vaughn.....1870-1871  
 George L. Woods.....1871-1874  
 S. B. Axtell.....1874-1875  
 George W. Emery.....1875-1879  
 Eli H. Murray.....1879-1886  
 Caleb W. West.....1886-1889  
 Arthur L. Thomas.....1889-1893  
 Caleb W. West.....1893-1896

## STATE GOVERNORS

Heber M. Wells.....1896-1905  
 John C. Cutler.....1905—



Utica, New York: Barnburners' Convention, III. 953  
 Utrecht, Treaty of: disregarded by Spanish settlers, I. 139; terms of, I. 278; defect of, I. 279; boundary dispute arising from, I. 287; British claims, I. 288

## V

Vaca, Cabeza de: wanderings of, I. 73  
 Vallandigham, Clement Laird: in Democratic Convention, III. 1321; arrested and banished, III. 1348; defeated for Governor of Ohio, III. 1350  
 Valley Forge: headquarters for American army, II. 460  
 Valparaiso: attack on Baltimore crew in, IV. 1580  
 Van Buren, Martin (1782-1862), President of the United States, 1837-1841: opposes internal improvements, II. 814; aids Jackson, II. 829; in Jackson's Cabinet, II. 848; Jackson demands his nomination for President, II. 867; Jackson's satisfaction over nomination of, II. 883; elected, II. 884; sketch of, II. 885; inaugurated, II. 886; views on government deposits, II. 889; foreign relations, II. 890; secures independent treasury, II. 890; characterized, II. 892; renominated for Presidency, III. 897; refuses to annex Texas, III. 919; proposed as candidate for President (1844), III. 921; nominated for President (1848), III. 952; interest in Panama canal during administration of, IV. 1692  
 Vancouver: discoveries, III. 928  
 Vanderbilt, Cornelius: stockholder in Accessory Transit Company, III. 1045; Nicaragua Canal, IV. 1692  
 Van Dorn, Earl: at battle of Corinth, III. 1265; attacks Holly Springs, III. 1268  
 Vane, Henry: Governor of Salem Colony, I. 162  
 Van Ness, William P.: preceptor Martin Van Buren, II. 886  
 Van Rensselaer, Stephen: riots on estates of, I. 182; defeated at Queenstown, II. 733  
 Van Twiller: Governor of New York, I. 183  
 Van Wert, Isaac: aids in capture of André, II. 497  
 Vasco da Gama: see Gama, Vasco da  
 Vandreuil, French commander: I. 301  
 Venezuela: boundary dispute with Great Britain, IV. 1609  
 Vengeance, French frigate: captured, II. 662  
 Venice: leader in commerce with the East, I. 36; her commerce ruined, I. 42  
 Vera Cruz: siege of, III. 938; arrival of European vessels to sequester revenues at, IV. 1430  
 Veragua, Duke of: at the opening of the World's Fair, IV. 1624  
 Vergennes, Charles Gravier, Count de: promises aid to Americans, II. 472; suspicious conduct of, II. 518  
 Vermont: origin, I. 173; quarrel between New York and New Hampshire over, II. 562; paper currency riots, II. 568; disorders in colony, II. 573; admitted, II. 633; attitude toward War of 1812, II. 759; in Hartford Convention, II. 760; free State, II. 790; Presidential election of 1848, III. 953; abolition of slavery, III. 958; admitted to Union, III. 963; election of 1854, III. 1071; election of 1896, IV. 1636; election of 1904, IV. 1714

## GOVERNORS

Thomas Chittenden.....1777-1789  
 Moses Robinson.....1789-1790  
 Thomas Chittenden.....1790-1797  
 Isaac Tichenor.....1797-1807  
 Israel Smith.....1807-1808  
 Isaac Tichenor.....1808-1809  
 Jonas Galusha.....1809-1813  
 Martin Chittenden.....1813-1815  
 Jonas Galusha.....1815-1820  
 Richard Skinner.....1820-1823  
 Cornelius P. Van Ness....1823-1826  
 Ezra Butler.....1826-1828  
 Samuel C. Crafts.....1828-1831  
 William A. Palmer.....1831-1835  
 Silas H. Jenison.....1835-1841

- Charles Paine.....1841-1843  
 John Mattocks.....1843-1844  
 William Slade.....1844-1846  
 Horace Eaton .....1846-1848  
 Carlos Coolidge .....1848-1850  
 Charles K. Williams.....1850-1852  
 Erastus Fairbanks.....1852-1853  
 John S. Robinson.....1853-1854  
 Stephen Royce.....1854-1856  
 Ryland Fletcher.....1856-1858  
 Hiland Hall.....1858-1860  
 Erastus Fairbanks.....1860-1861  
 Frederick Holbrook.....1861-1863  
 John G. Smith.....1863-1865  
 Paul Dillingham.....1865-1867  
 John B. Page.....1867-1869  
 Peter T. Washburn.....1869-1870  
 John W. Stewart.....1870-1872  
 Julius Converse.....1872-1874  
 Asahel Peck .....1874-1876  
 Horace Fairbanks.....1876-1878  
 Redfield Proctor.....1878-1880  
 Roswell Farnham.....1880-1882  
 John L. Barstow.....1882-1884  
 Samuel E. Pingree.....1884-1886  
 E. J. Ormsbee.....1886-1888  
 W. P. Dillingham.....1888-1890  
 Calvin S. Page.....1890-1892  
 Levi K. Fuller.....1892-1894  
 Urban A. Woodbury.....1894-1896  
 Josiah Grout .....1896-1898  
 Edward C. Smith.....1898-1900  
 William W. Stickney....1900-1902  
 John G. McCullough....1902-1904  
 Charles J. Bell.....1904——
- Verrazano, Giovanni, I. 82  
 Versailles, Treaty of (1778), II. 476  
 Vespucci, Amerigo or Americus Vespucci: first to call America a new world, I. 63  
 Vice President of the United States: election and powers, II. 593; salary, II. 614; succeeds to office of President, III. 902  
 Vice President of the Confederacy: term of office, III. 1145  
 Vicksburg: campaign against, III. 1267; horrors of siege of, III. 1270; turning point in Civil War, III. 1283; election battle of 1874, IV. 1426, note; yellow fever epidemic, IV. 1501  
 Victoria, Queen of England: issues proclamation of neutrality toward American belligerents, III. 1181  
*Victoria*, one of Magellan's vessels: completes the circumnavigation of the world, I. 66  
 Vigilance Committees: agreed upon by first Continental Congress, I. 381; search mails, III. 975; California, III. 1004; recommended by Nashville Convention, III. 1024; compared to Ku-Klux-Klan, IV. 1424  
 Vilas, William Freeman: Postmaster General, IV. 1541, note  
 Villiers, French commander: succeeds Jumonville, I. 296  
 Vincennes: in French claims, I. 288  
 Vinland the Good: Northmen visit, I. 31  
 Virgin: miraculous appearance to Mexicans, III. 945  
 Virginia: named, I. 97; colony planted I. 104; liberties insured by first charter, I. 104; colonial government of, I. 105, 204; population at beginning of the Revolution, I. 219; slave uprising (1687), I. 223; status of indentured servants, I. 226; tobacco industry, I. 234; educational methods as a colony, I. 241; printing press introduced (1729), I. 247; colonial newspapers, I. 248; franchise denied Catholics, I. 254; colonial suffrage laws, I. 254; Church of England established, I. 256; religious persecutions, I. 256; clergy made subject to laws, I. 259; salary of clergy paid with tobacco, I. 260; postal system established, I. 263; Cohabitation Act, I. 267; territory granted to colonization companies, I. 293; opposition to Stamp Act, I. 359; oppose the Townshend law, I. 367; appointment of a committee of correspondence, I. 372; proposes first Continental Congress, I. 378; adopts a constitution, I. 412; proposes a declaration of independence, I. 417; cedes to United States her claims to western lands, II. 549; gives up claims to Northwest Territory, II. 568; commissioners appointed to decide Potomac commercial policy, II. 574; chooses delegates for Constitutional

Convention, II. 575; ratification of the National Constitution, II. 597; opposes financial schemes of Hamilton, II. 621; rank as to population, II. 834; opposes R. M. Johnson's nomination, II. 883; Declaration of Rights, III. 959; slavery regarded with disfavor, III. 959; abolition societies formed, III. 968; slave uprising in Southampton county, III. 974; John Brown plans raids from, III. 1111; Presidential election of 1860, III. 1126; Confederates seize Norfolk navy yard, III. 1139; calls a compromise convention, III. 1154; gathering of Confederate troops, III. 1172; secedes, III. 1173; Arlington Heights and Alexandria taken by Federals, III. 1191; Grant's plan for campaign in, III. 1290; sword presented to Lee by legislature of, III. 1340; Booth shot, III. 1365; reconstruction policy of Lincoln, III. 1374; under military rule, III. 1393; readmitted, I<sup>st</sup> 1394; in Presidential election, 1868, IV. 1411; readmitted to representation, IV. 1415; Democrats regain control in, IV. 1426; negro franchise, IV. 1427

## GOVERNORS

Edw. M. Wingfield (pres.) 1607  
 John Ratcliffe (pres.)....1607-1608  
 Capt. John Smith (pres.)..1608-1610  
 Sir George Percy (pres.)..1610-1611  
 Thomas West, Lord de la Warr (gov.) ..... 1611  
 Thos. Dale (high marshal) .....1611-1616  
 George Yeardley (lt.gov.)..1616-1617  
 Capt. Samuel Argall (lt. gov.) .....1617-1619  
 Sir George Yeardley (gov.)..1619-1621  
 Francis Wyatt.....1621-1626  
 Sir George Yeardley.....1626-1627  
 Francis West.....1627-1628  
 John Potts.....1628-1629  
 John Hervey.....1629-1635  
 John West.....1635-1636  
 John Hervey .....1636-1639  
 Francis Wyatt.....1639-1641  
 Sir William Berkeley.....1641-1645

Richard Kemp (lt.gov.).. 1645  
 Sir William Berkeley....1645-1652  
 Richard Bennett .....1652-1655  
 Edward Diggs .....1655-1656  
 Samuel Matthews .....1656-1660  
 Sir William Berkeley....1660-1677  
 Herbert Jeffries (lt.gov.).. 1677  
 Herbert Jeffries (gov.)...1677-1678  
 Henry Chicheley .....1678-1679  
 Thomas, Lord Culpeper...1679-1680  
 Henry Chicheley (lt.gov.)..1680-1684  
 Lord Howard of Effingham 1684-1689  
 Nathaniel Bacon (lt.gov.)..1689-1690  
 Francis Nicholson (lt.gov.)..1690-1692  
 Sir Edmund Andros (gov.)..1692-1698  
 Fran. Nicholson (gov.)...1698-1704  
 The Earl of Orkney.....1704-1705  
 Edward Nott, (lt. gov.)..1705-1706  
 Edmund Jennings (lt. gov.), 1706-1710  
 Robert Hunter (lt. gov.).. 1710  
 Alex. Spotswood, (lt. gov.)..1710-1722  
 Hugh Drysdale (lt. gov.)..1722-1726  
 Robert Carter, (lt. gov.)..1726-1727  
 William Gooch (lt. gov.)..1727-1749  
 John Robinson, Sr. (lt. gov.) ..... 1749  
 Lord Albemarle (gov.)...1749-1750  
 Louis Burwell (lt. gov.)..1750-1752  
 Robt. Dinwiddie (lt. gov.)..1752-1758  
 John Blair (lt. gov.)..... 1758  
 Francis Fauquier (gov.)...1758-1768  
 John Blair (lt. gov.)..... 1768  
 Norborne Berkeley, Lord de Botetonet (gov.)...1768-1770  
 William Nelson (lt. gov.)..1770-1772  
 John, Lord Dunmore (gov.), 1772-1776

## STATE GOVERNORS

Patrick Henry .....1776-1779  
 Thomas Jefferson .....1779-1781  
 Thomas Nelson ..... 1781  
 Benjamin Harrison ....1781-1784  
 Patrick Henry .....1784-1786  
 Edmund Randolph .....1786-1788  
 Beverly Randolph .....1788-1791  
 Henry Lee .....1791-1794  
 Robert Brooke .....1794-1796  
 James Wood .....1796-1799  
 James Monroe .....1799-1802  
 John Page .....1802-1805  
 William H. Cabell.....1805-1808

- John Tyler .....1808-1811  
 James Monroe ..... 1811  
 George W. Smith.....1811-1812  
 James Barbour .....1812-1814  
 Wilson C. Nicholas.....1814-1816  
 James P. Preston.....1816-1819  
 Thomas M. Randolph....1819-1822  
 James Pleasant .....1822-1825  
 John Tyler .....1825-1827  
 William B. Giles.....1827-1830  
 John Floyd .....1830-1834  
 Littleton W. Tazewell....1834-1836  
 Windham Robertson (act.)1836-1837  
 David Campbell .....1837-1840  
 Thomas W. Gilmer.....1840-1841  
 John Rutherford .....1841-1842  
 John M. Gregory.....1842-1843  
 James McDowell .....1843-1846  
 William Smith .....1846-1849  
 John B. Floyd.....1849-1852  
 Joseph Johnson .....1852-1856  
 Henry A. Wise.....1856-1860  
 John Letcher .....1860-1864  
 Francis H. Pierpont....1864-1868  
 Henry H. Wells.....1868-1870  
 Gilbert C. Walker.....1870-1874  
 James L. Kemper.....1874-1878  
 Fred. W. M. Holliday...1878-1882  
 William E. Cameron....1882-1886  
 Fitzhugh Lee .....1886-1890  
 Philip McKinney .....1890-1894  
 Charles T. O'Ferrall....1894-1898  
 J. Hoge Tyler.....1898-1902  
 Andrew J. Montague....1902-1906  
 Claude A. Swanson.....1906—
- Virginia Dynasty, II. 765  
 Virginia Gazette: founded, I. 248  
 Virginia Military Institute: Jackson  
   resigns from faculty of, III. 1263  
 Virginia Plan, II. 578  
 Virginia, University of: founded by  
   Jefferson, II. 676  
*Virginius*: captured by Spanish, IV.  
   1452  
 Voltaire (François Marie Arouet): quot-  
   ed, I. 296
- W
- Waddington, Joshua: sued by Eliza-  
   beth Rutgers, II. 558  
 Wade, Benjamin Franklin: signs ad-  
   dress against Douglas, III. 1055;
- opposed to Lincoln, III. 1381; pop-  
   ularity of, III. 1404; in San Do-  
   mingo Commission, IV. 1439  
 Wade-Davis Bill, III. 1379  
 Wadsworth, Captain: story of rebuff  
   of Fletcher, I. 170  
 Waedseemüller: first calls the New  
   World America, I. 64  
 Waite, Morrison Remick: counsel in  
   Geneva Commission, IV. 1448  
 Walker, Sir Hovenden: sent to conquer  
   Canada, I. 277  
 Walker, John G.: chairman canal com-  
   mission, IV. 1694  
 Walker, L. P.: Confederate Secretary  
   of War, III. 1143  
 Walker, Robert James: Secretary of  
   the Treasury, III. 947; Governor of  
   Kansas, III. 1094; denounces Le-  
   compton Constitution, III. 1095; re-  
   signs, III. 1096  
 Walker, William: filibustering expedi-  
   tion, III. 1044; president of Nica-  
   ragua, III. 1046; second attempt to  
   establish republic, III. 1046; third  
   attempt, III. 1047  
 Wall, E. C.: in Democratic Presidential  
   nomination, IV. 1705  
 Wallace, Lew: at siege of Fort Donel-  
   son, III. 1210; at battle of Pittsburg  
   Landing, III. 1216; defeated by  
   Early, III. 1299  
 Walloons: name of Protestant refu-  
   gees, I. 180  
 Walpole, Horace: quoted on Washing-  
   ton's military capacity, II. 444  
 Wampum Belts: used to record treat-  
   ies, I. 22  
 War, Department of: organized, II.  
   613  
 War of 1812: causes, II. 722; *Little*  
   *Belt* captured by *President*, II. 726;  
   hostilities declared, II. 729; failure  
   of land operations, II. 732; naval  
   victories, II. 734; success of land  
   operations (1813), II. 742; capture  
   of Washington, II. 750; defense of  
   New Orleans II. 725; Treaty of  
   Ghent, II. 756; cost of war, II. 758;  
   political results, II. 763; military  
   results, II. 763; compared to the  
   Revolution, II. 765; economic re-  
   sults of, II. 766



War of Austrian Succession: extends to American colonies, I. 280

War of Spanish Succession, see Spanish Succession, War of

War of the Palatinate: spreads to colonies, I. 270

Ward, Artemas: appointed major general, I. 395; at siege of Boston, I. 395

Warren, Commodore: in Louisburg expedition, I. 281

Warren, Dr. Joseph: appointed to wait on Governor of Massachusetts, I. 382; head of committee of safety, I. 382; death, I. 400

Warwick: united to Providence Plantations, I. 170

Washburne, Elihu Benjamin: in Grant's cabinet, IV. 1412; minister to France, IV. 1413; defeated for Vice President, IV. 1508

Washington: admitted to the Union, IV. 1591; Presidential election of 1900, IV. 1671

II. 750; garrisoned, III. 1190; defended from Confederate attack, III. 1238; threatened by Early, III. 1299; Union armies reviewed at, III. 1346; Grange Movement organized, IV. 1493

Washington, Booker T.: makes speech at opening of the Atlanta Exposition, IV. 1626

Washington, Bushrod: president of American Colonization Society, III. 968

Washington, George (1732-1799), President of the United States, 1789-1797; member of Ohio Company, I. 293; sent to warn French fort, I. 294; in expedition against Fort Du Quesne, I. 323; delegate to first Continental Congress, I. 379; delegate to second Continental Congress, I. 391; appointed commander in chief of the army, I. 393; takes command of army, I. 400; besieges Boston, I. 406; opposed to independence of colonies, I. 409; abandons Long Island, II. 424; refuses to receive Howe's message, II. 424; at battle of White Plains, II. 428; retreats across New Jersey, II. 435; recrosses the Delaware, II. 439; escapes from Cornwallis at Trenton, II. 441; goes into winter quarters at Morristown, II. 443; at battle of Brandywine, II. 457; his campaign in New Jersey against Howe (1777), II. 457; at battle of Germantown, II. 459; establishes headquarters at Valley Forge, II. 460; Conway Cabal attempts to secure removal of, II. 462; orders arrest of Lee, II. 469; reprimands Arnold, II. 494; sends Greene to succeed Gates, II. 504; goes to Yorktown, II. 511; plot to make him king, II. 555; in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; president of Constitutional Convention, II. 578; elected first President of the United States, II. 602; inauguration, II. 605; inaugural address, II. 609; signs bill for a National Bank, II. 624; annoyed with the *National Gazette*, II. 632; re-election, II. 632; character of second

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Isaac Stevens .....	1853-1857
J. Patton Anderson.....	1857
Fayette McMullin .....	1857-1859
Richard D. Gholson.....	1859-1861
William H. Wallace.....	1861-1862
William Pickering .....	1862-1866
George E. Cole.....	1866-1867
Marshall F. Moore.....	1867-1869
Alvin Flanders .....	1869-1870
Edward S. Salomon.....	1870-1872
James F. Legate.....	1872
Elisha P. Ferry.....	1872-1880
William A. Newell.....	1880-1884
Watson C. Squire.....	1884-1887
Eugene Semple .....	1887-1888
Miles C. Moore.....	1888

#### STATE GOVERNORS

Elisha P. Ferry.....	1889-1893
John H. McGraw.....	1893-1897
J. R. Rogers.....	1897-1901
Henry G. McBride.....	1901-1905
Albert E. Mead.....	1905---

Washington, D. C.: planned, II. 622; condition of, when made seat of government, II. 672; taken by British

- administration, II. 633; criticisms of, II. 647, 659; refuses third term, II. 650; farewell address of, II. 654; stately manner of, II. 655; death of, II. 671; Stuart portrait of, rescued by Mrs. Madison, II. 751; his principles reflected in Monroe Doctrine, II. 787; only President to receive unanimous vote, II. 803; quoted on slavery in Virginia, III. 959; precedent regarding third term, IV. 1503
- Washington, William: at battle of Guilford Court House, II. 506
- Washington, Treaty of: IV. 1446, 1449, 1554
- Wasp*: captures the *Frolic*, II. 737
- Waterloo: Napoleon defeated at, II. 711
- Watling Island: discovered by Columbus, I. 54
- Watson, Thomas E.: nominated for Vice President (1896), IV. 1633; Populist nominee for President, IV. 1707
- Wayne, Anthony: at battle of Brandywine, II. 458; succeeds St. Clair, II. 647; victory in Northwest aids immigration, II. 775
- Weaver, James B.: Greenback Party nominee (1880), IV. 1510; nominated for President (1892), IV. 1597
- Webb, James Watson: favors Taylor for Presidency, III. 950
- Webster, Daniel: quoted on government of Northwest Territory, II. 570; opposes tariff for New England, II. 769; defends Monroe Doctrine, II. 787; opposes protective tariff, II. 801; describes Jackson's inauguration, II. 841; on question of Jackson's appointments, II. 845; replies to Hayne, II. 854; favors United States Bank, II. 872; offered nomination for Vice President, III. 896; makes campaign speeches (1840), III. 899; member of Harrison's cabinet, III. 902; negotiates settlement of Northwest Boundary Dispute, III. 909, 911; attempts to settle Northwest Boundary Dispute, III. 928; opposes Mexican War, III. 946; candidate for President, III. 950; refuses nomination for Vice President (1848), III. 952; opposes election of Taylor, III. 998; opposes Calhoun's resolutions, III. 1001; summary of his career, III. 1016; his Seventh of March speech, III. 1017; candidate for Presidential nomination (1852), III. 1036; death, III. 1036; his communication to Austrian diplomat, III. 1063
- Webster, Noah: in American literature, II. 838
- Webster-Hayne Debate: account of, II. 854
- Weed, Thurlow: opposes nomination of Clay for Presidency, III. 895; quoted on nomination of Tyler, III. 896; decides to nominate Taylor for Presidency, III. 950; opposes Lincoln, III. 1318
- Weehawken: duel ground of Hamilton and Burr, II. 704
- Weitzel, Godfrey: enters Richmond, III. 1339
- Wells, David Ames: joins liberal movement, IV. 1454
- Wells, Gideon: Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, III. 1162
- Wesley, Charles and John: missionaries and preachers, I. 145
- West, Benjamin: celebrated paintings of, I. 201
- West Florida: see Florida
- West India Company, Dutch: powers of, under charter, I. 180
- West Indies: French possessions in, threatened, II. 634; British restrictions on trade with, II. 640; England closes ports to American commerce, II. 821
- West Point: command of, given to Arnold, 495
- West Virginia: colonized by Ohio Company, I. 293; refuses to secede, III. 1192; admitted to the Union, III. 1194; railroad strikes (1877), IV. 1495; Blaine's campaign speeches (1884), IV. 1536; Presidential election (1896), IV. 1636; Presidential election (1904), IV. 1714

## GOVERNORS

- Arthur I. Boreman.....1863-1869  
 William E. Stevenson....1869-1871  
 John J. Jacobs.....1871-1877  
 Henry M. Matthews.....1877-1881  
 Jacob B. Jackson.....1881-1885  
 E. Willis Wilson.....1885-1890  
 A. Brooks Fleming.....1890-1893  
 William A. MacCorkle...1893-1897  
 George W. Atkinson.....1897-1901  
 Albert B. White.....1901-1905  
 William V. Dawson.....1905—
- Western Reserve, II. 569; agitation over Fugitive Slave Law, III. 1109  
 Weston, Thomas: founds commercial settlement on Massachusetts Bay, I. 153  
 Weyler, Valeriano: sent to Cuba, IV. 1643; recalled, IV. 1644  
 Weymouth, George: explores New England coast, I. 100  
 Wheat: raised in the Middle Colonies, I. 232  
 Wheaton, Henry: American diplomat and jurist, II. 841  
 Wheeler, Joseph: commands Confederate cavalry, III. 1330; appointed major general, IV. 1651; in Santiago campaign, IV. 1654  
 Wheeler, William A.: nominated for Vice President (1876), IV. 1479; elected Vice President (1876), IV. 1488  
 Wheeling, West Virginia: loyalist convention at, III. 1192; State Constitutional Convention, III. 1194  
 Wheelwright John: in Salem colony, I. 162  
 Whig Party: organized, III. 894; convention at Harrisburg, III. 895; alienated from Tyler, III. 909; convention at Baltimore (1844), III. 921; convention meets at Philadelphia (1848), III. 950; convention at Baltimore (1852), III. 1035; dissolution, III. 1060; remnant in Constitutional Union Party, III. 1119  
 Whigs: origin, II. 764; named, II. 884  
 Whisky Rebellion: in Pennsylvania, II. 645  
 Whisky Ring, The, IV. 1460  
 Whisky Tax (1791): imposed, II. 617; repealed, II. 619  
 White, Andrew Dickson: in San Domingo Commission, IV. 1439  
 White, Horace: joins liberal movement, IV. 1454  
 White, Hugh Lawson: nominated for Presidency, II. 884  
 White, John: leaves a colony in Virginia, I. 98  
 White City: see Columbian Exposition, World's  
 White House, The: burned by British, II. 751  
 White Pass, The: awarded United States in Alaskan boundary dispute, IV. 1691  
 White Plains: battle of, II. 428  
 Whitfield, George: missionary and preacher, I. 145  
 Whitman, Dr. Marcus: saves Oregon for the United States, III. 929  
 Whitman, Walt: his poem on death of Lincoln, III. 1367  
 Whitney, Eli: increases value of slavery to the South, I. 221; invents cotton gin, II. 789  
 Whitney, William Collins: Secretary of the Navy, IV. 1541, note  
 Whittier, John Greenleaf: in American literature, II. 841; secretary of American Anti-Slavery Society, III. 973; joins liberal movement, IV. 1454; his Centennial Hymn sung, IV. 1472  
 Wickes, Lambert: naval exploits of, II. 527  
 Wilderness, The: battle of, III. 1291; political effects of, III. 1322  
 Wilkes, Charles: in the *Trent* Affair, III. 1188  
 Wilkinson, James: betrays Burr, II. 708  
 Willard, Samuel: notable divine, I. 239  
 William and Mary: accession, I. 133, 178; unfavorable to Lord Baltimore, I. 133; effort at military unity in colonies I. 169; yield to colonies, I. 179; proclaimed in New York, I. 187; crowned, I. 270  
 William and Mary, College of: founded, I. 241; graduates of, in Constitutional Convention, II. 577  
 Williamette, The: settlements made on, III. 928

- William Henry, Fort: captured by French, I. 317
- Williams, Mrs.: captivity among Indians, I. 275
- Williams, David: aids in capture of André, II. 497
- Williams, Ephraim: in the French and Indian Wars, I. 313
- Williams, George Henry: in Joint High Commission, IV. 1446
- Williams, James: killed at battle of King's Mountain, II. 502
- Williams, John Sharp: in Democratic Convention (1904), IV. 1703
- Williams, Roger: sketch of, I. 160; founds Providence, I. 170; early colonial author, I. 245
- Williamsburg: reached by Washington on return from Fort le Bœuf, I. 294; battle at, III. 1238
- Williams's College: founded, I. 313
- William the Conqueror: erects Palatinate of Durham, I. 125
- Willis, Albert L.: minister plenipotentiary to Hawaii, IV. 1607
- Willis, Nathaniel Parker: in American literature, II. 841
- Wilmington: taken, III. 1335
- Wilmot, David: proposes the Wilmot Proviso, III. 943
- Wilmot Proviso: proposed, III. 943; effect on South, III. 999; Lincoln votes for, III. 1101
- Wilson, Henry: member of Buffalo Convention (1848), III. 952; nominated for Vice President (1872), IV. 1458
- Wilson, James: in Constitutional Convention, II. 577; wins ratification of Constitution in Pennsylvania, II. 596; absence from first Congress, II. 609
- Wilson, William L.: Postmaster General, IV. 1600, note; introduces a bill to change McKinley Tariff, IV. 1602
- Wilson Tariff Law: passed, IV. 1602
- Wilson's Creek: battle of, III. 1206
- Will's Creek: Washington withdraws to, I. 297
- Winchester: occupied by Johnston, III. 1196; Banks's defeat at, III. 1240; Sheridan arrives from, III. 1304; political effect of victory at, III. 1322
- Winchester, James: defeated at River Raisin, II. 745
- Winder, General: fails to defend Washington, II. 751
- Windom, William: in Garfield's cabinet, IV. 1512, note; investigates charges against the railways, IV. 1549
- Windsor: founded, I. 165
- Wing, Simon: nominated for President (1892), IV. 1597
- "Winning of the West": published, IV. 1709
- Winslow, Josiah: expels Acadians, I. 309
- Winthrop, John: removes colony to Boston Harbor, I. 158; governor of Salem, I. 158; disputes over rights of colonists, I. 160; sent to England, I. 169; early colonial author, I. 245
- Winthrop, John, Jr.: founds Saybrook, I. 166
- Winthrop, Robert Charles: opposed for Speaker of House, III. 1008; at centennial of Cornwallis's surrender, IV. 1525
- Wirt, William: nominated for President, II. 867; on Jackson's popularity, II. 868
- Wisconsin: mounds of the Mound Builders in, I. 8; part of Massachusetts, II. 568; Presidential election of 1892, IV. 1598

## TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Henry Dodge .....1836-1841  
 James D. Doty.....1841-1844  
 Nathaniel P. Tallmadge..1845-1848

## STATE GOVERNORS

Nelson Dewey .....1848-1851  
 Leonard J. Farwell.....1852-1853  
 William A. Barstow.....1854-1855  
 Coles Bashford .....1856-1857  
 Alex. W. Randall.....1858-1861  
 Louis P. Harvey..... 1862  
 Edward Salomon (act.)..1862-1863  
 James T. Lewis.....1864-1865  
 Lucius Fairchild .....1866-1871  
 Cadwallader C. Washburn.1872-1873



- William R. Taylor.....1874-1875  
 Harrison Ludington .....1876-1877  
 William E. Smith.....1878-1881  
 Jeremiah M. Rusk.....1882-1888  
 William D. Hoard.....1889-1890  
 George W. Peck.....1891-1894  
 William H. Upham.....1895-1897  
 Edward Scofield .....1897-1900  
 Robert M. La Follette...1901-1906  
 James O. Davidson.....1906—
- Wise, Henry A.: opposes Slade, III. 978  
 Witchcraft: made capital offense by  
 "Body of Liberties," I. 164; perse-  
 cutions at Salem, I. 164  
 Witherspoon, John: British soldiers pil-  
 lage house of, II. 443  
 Wolfe, James: at siege of Louisburg,  
 I. 320; attacks Quebec, I. 327;  
 death, I. 333  
 Wolfe's Cove: origin of name, I. 330  
 Wollaston, Captain: founds commercial  
 settlement, I. 154  
 Women: first arrival in American col-  
 ony, I. 116  
 Women, Status of: among Aztecs, I.  
 10; heard by proxy in the councils,  
 I. 24; excluded from colonial col-  
 leges, I. 242  
 Wood, Leonard: in Santiago campaign,  
 IV. 1654; transfers government of  
 Cuba to Cuban authorities, IV. 1680  
 Woodford, Stewart Lyndon: leaves  
 Spain, IV. 1648  
 Woodruff, Wilford: issues manifesto  
 respecting Mormon polygamy, IV.  
 1587  
 Wool, John Ellis: colonel in War of  
 1812, II. 733; assembles volunteers  
 at San Antonio, III. 936; joins Tay-  
 lor, III. 937  
 Woolman, John: arouses Quakers  
 against slavery, I. 224  
 Worcester, Dean Conant: member of  
 the Philippine commission, IV. 1674  
 Worden, John Lorimer: commands the  
*Monitor*, III. 1235  
 World's Columbian Exposition: see Col-  
 umbian Exposition, World's  
 Wright, Silas: defeated for governor-  
 ship of New York, III. 948  
 Wyoming: affected by Missouri Com-  
 promise, II. 797; Northwest Terri-  
 tory includes part of, III. 1051; ad-  
 mitted to the Union, IV. 1591;  
 Presidential election of 1892, IV.  
 1599; Presidential election of 1900,  
 IV. 1671
- TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS
- John A. Campbell.....1869-1875  
 John M. Thayer.....1875-1878  
 John M. Hoyt.....1878-1882  
 William Hale .....1882-1885  
 Francis E. Warren.....1885-1886  
 George W. Baxter..... 1886  
 Thomas Moonlight .....1886-1889  
 Francis E. Warren.....1889-1890
- STATE GOVERNORS
- Francis E. Warren..... 1890  
 Amos W. Barber.....1890-1893  
 John E. Osborne.....1893-1895  
 William A. Richards....1895-1899  
 DeForest Richards .....1899-1903  
 Fennimore Chatterton ...1903-1905  
 Bryant B. Brooks.....1905—
- Wyoming Valley: massacre of, II. 542;  
 quarrel between Pennsylvania and  
 Connecticut over, II. 562  
 Wythe, George: elevates the legal pro-  
 fession, I. 237; preceptor to Jeffer-  
 son, II. 676
- X—Y
- "X. Y. Z. Dispatches": in French im-  
 broglio, II. 661  
 Yale, Elihu: makes bequests to Yale  
 College, I. 240  
 Yale University: founded, I. 240  
 Yamassees: attack on colonists, I. 139;  
 expense of war with, I. 141  
 Yancey, William Lowndes: denounces  
 Northern Democrats, III. 1118  
 Yates, Richard: war Governor of Illi-  
 nois, III. 1351  
 Yazoo River: Sherman ascends the, III.  
 1268  
 Yeamans, Sir John: leads settlers from  
 Barbadoes, I. 134; brings slaves to  
 South Carolina, I. 137

- Yeardley, Sir George: Governor of Virginia, I. 118
- Yellow Fever Epidemic (1878), IV. 1500
- Yellow Tavern: battle of, III. 1292
- Yerger, Judge: quoted on slave labor, III. 991
- York: see Toronto
- York, Pennsylvania: attacked by French and Indians, I. 273; meetings of Congress at, II. 464
- Yorktown, Virginia: Cornwallis's surrender, II. 512; McClellan's siege of, III. 1238; in Bull Run campaign, III. 1197; centennial of Cornwallis's surrender celebrated, IV. 1525
- Young, Brigham: succeeds Smith in Mormon church, IV. 1585
- Young, Samuel Baldwin Marks: in Santiago campaign, IV. 1654
- Yrujo, Spanish minister: Burr's correspondence with, II. 710
- Yuman Indians: found in Mexico, I. 9

## Z

- Zapotecs: found in Mexico, I. 9
- Zenger, Peter: and freedom of the press, I. 190 7















